REGICIDES

No Saints nor Martyrs:

Freely Expoſtulated

With the *Publiſhers* of LUDLOW's *Third Volume*, as to the Truth of Things and Characters.

WITH

A Touch at AMYNTOR's *Cavils* againſt Our KING's Curing the *Evil*, and the *Thirtieth of January Faſt*.

A SUPPLEMENT to the

Juſt Defence of the Royal Martyr;

By the ſame AUTHOR.

Virg. Æneid. 6°.

Vendidit hic auro Patriam, Dominumque potentem
Impoſuit; fixit Leges pretio, atque reſixit.

PROV. xxviij. 2.

For the Tranſgreſſion of a Land, many are the Princes thereof.

LONDON,
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Regicides
NO
SAINTS nor MARTYRS.

THAT this hath been all along, and ſtill continues, an Age of *Paradoxes*, as to the moſt conſiderable Subjects mens Minds are converſant about, is too manifeſt to be diſown'd: Our *Philoſophy* is ſo altogether new, that it bids defiance to whatever helps the *Ancients* might be ſuppos'd to aſſiſt us withall; ſcorns to ſtand upon their *Shoulders*, to take the better *Proſpect* of the *Natural World*, which our *Fore-fathers* prudently did, and gratefully acknowledg'd; but, on the contrary, if we now ſtand ſo in any ſence, 'tis to trample upon, and contemn them. And in ſome part it may be from hence, that our *Divinity* is more than ever *ting'd* with the *oppoſition of Sciences falſly ſo called*, whether of new *Lights* on the one hand, which have ſo much dark'ned the right

underſtanding of all true *Religion*; or new *Notions* on the other, which would ſubmit the *Myſteries of God* to the *Reaſon of Man*, bring back all *Reveal'd*, to *Natural Knowledge*; and that, which is ſadder ſtill, without the leaſt regard to *Moral Practice*. But nothing hath been ſo *Paradoxical* as our *Politicks*, about which we have try'd as many *Experiments*, as the *Chymiſts* for the *Philoſophers Stone*, and to much worſe purpoſe; ſince they, tho' failing in their grand aim, every day improv'd their *Diſcoveries* to the health, and benefit of Mankind; whereas our *State Empericks* are ſo deſperate, as to force upon us their *Poiſon*, without the leaſt proviſion of an *Antidote*; will needs be altering the whole *Conſtitution* of that *Body*, nay, its very frame and poſture, even to ſetting the *Feet* uppermoſt, as if we had quite forgot the *Miſchiefs* which attended their former attempts of that kind, what a *Vertigo* it made in our *Brains*, ſuch a *ſwiming*, and *giddineſs*, that many will not own it for a diſeaſe, that every thing ſhould ſtill turn round: neither indeed can it be upon any other Preſumption but this, a belief of the generalities not being throughly recover'd, ſo far in their *right Wits*, as to have attain'd that old,

and

and true apprehenſion of things they moſtly had before thoſe many fatal *Foggs*, and *National Convulſions*, that theſe bold Undertakers have the confidence of thinking to ſet up their *Stage* again, make a *Cant*, and a *Noiſe*, with thoſe many *Old Compoſitions*, which from our former experience have prov'd moſt deſtructive both to Health and Life: And 'tis of moſt unhappy conſideration, that in this particular alone they ſhould have reaſon, take us in ſuch a careleſs indifferency as to thoſe former *Diſorders*, and *Confuſions* ſo long groan'd under, that we ſeem to have forgot, according to our aforemention'd charge, not only *God's Mercies*, but our own *Miſeries* too.

And from hence alone it muſt be, that the *Prefacers* to *Ludlow*'s Third *Volume*, boaſt ſo much of that reception the two former had met with. Mens *Palates* are *vitiated*, and *Stomachs foul*, which makes ſolid *Truths* of too hard digeſtion; ſound *Principles*, and ſincere *Advice*, will no more down with them, than a Potion of *Phyſick* with a ſickly pettiſh *Child*, or Water with a man in an *Hydrophoby*: Something they muſt have which is not to be had, or will certainly do them Miſchief if they can get it; and yet having gratify'd their humor, and expe-

rienc'd the nauſeouſneſs of what was ſo earneſtly deſir'd, how loathſome and pernicious it prov'd, they will not be thereby caution'd from fanſying ſomething elſe altogether as prejudicial : would any *Phyſician* of Reputation comply with a Patient in ſuch *froppiſh* Extravagancies ; or wiſe, good man oblige a *Friend*, a *Relation* in the like unkind Conceſſions ? And this is what I deſire to expoſtulate with the *Publiſhers* of the foremention'd *Memoirs*, with what deſign they are ſo forward to impoſe upon the World ſuch a *Farrago*, ſuch an *Hodgpodg*, of *Calumnies*, and *Falſhoods* ; and preſume it may be the more freely done, from certain information, that tho' their aſſigned *Author* provided the *Ingredients*, yet they compos'd the *diſh*, from a confus'd heap of *Alltogethers*, according to his little regard either of *method* or *truth*, cull'd out what they thought moſt proper for this notable *Swiſs Entertainment :* Now from ſo great an abundance, ſuch as it was, one would think they ſhould have preſented us with nothing, but what had been ſound, and wholſom, and thereby oblig'd every judicious *Palate*, tho' the *Service* had been the leſs, (and indeed 'tis probable one *Volume* would have comprehended all really worth information ;)

whereas

whereas to throw in the many *ſuper-annuated Stories*, and *Commonwealth Fictions*, which ſerv'd their ſeveral turns from 41. forward, as if *Time*, the *Mother* of *Truth*, had not yet brought forth any thing of clearer diſcovery, made a real *Detection* of their many, however well-contriv'd *Villanies*, is too impoſing, and what no common *Impoſtor* would be guilty of.

And really when I firſt undertook to defend our *Royal Martyr*, wipe off that *dirt*, and *obloquy*, wherewith this *Author*, and his Friends deſign'd afreſh to bedaub the *Sacred Memory* of that *excellent Prince*, it could not enter into my thoughts, that they would venture further, at leaſtwiſe ſo far, as to write a *Panegyrick* upon his *Murtherers*, preſume or imagine it poſſible to ſet them in a *true Light*, who thorough all their actions, and enterpriſes whatſoever, were as *black* and *dark* as *Hell*; a *Generation* of ſuch profligate wretches, both in *Morals*, and *Principles*, as no Age, or *Government* can paralliel; ſo inſolently baſe, as neither *Law*, nor *Reaſon* could limit their *Arbitrary Wills*; and yet withall ſo deſpicably vile, as their own *Creatures* had them in equal contempt with all good men, and kick'd them down with an anſwerable Scorn.

There was indeed an old *Humoriſt* laſt *Century*, who writ an *Encomion Neronis*; and *De Quevedo* brings in *Judas* making an ingenious *Apology* for himſelf in *Hell*; but there was Wit and Fancy in thoſe Conceits, without any thing of *Intrigue*, or miſchievous Deſign; whereas here we are impos'd upon with one continu'd relation of right down *Forgeries*, and pernicious *Innovations*, on purpoſe to poſſeſs the People that *Knaves* and *Fools* are their beſt *Friends*, to ruin the Nation, in ſubverting all *fundamental Eſtabliſhments*, will conduce moſt to its intereſt, and that ſuch *Devils* as have already, or ſhall hereafter do it, ought to paſs for *Angels of Light*. A juſt indignation hereat, hath caus'd me to continue my Reflections upon this *Third Volume*; wherein, nevertheleſs I deſign to be very brief, and ſhall only take notice of ſuch Paſſages as either directly or indirectly ſtrike at the *Memory* of our *Royal Martyr*; or otherwiſe tend to the Subverſion of the *Monarchy* in general, its *Foundation*, and *Being*. To which purpoſe I ſhall,

1. Crave leave to *Expoſtulate* a little with the *Author's Friends*, (as they term themſelves) who ſet forth his *Memoirs*, the laſt *Volume* more eſpecially, whether they have not a *Commonwealth* deſign in publiſhing

publiſhing them, and do not give more than ſecret intimation thereof in their *Preface?* as likewiſe whether they can plead ignorance of ſeveral Paſſages, and *Characters* therein, being notoriouſly Falſe and Scandalous?

2. I ſhall preſume to give the true *Character* of thoſe *Execrable Regicides*, whom with ſo much Art and Daubing, they endeavour otherwiſe to repreſent.

3. Shew with how little reaſon, and much malice, this laſt *Volume* is ſwell'd up, to pretty nigh one half, with a *Collection of Letters*, and other *Papers*, which had been frequently Printed before, and every thing therein cavill'd at by them, as frequently, and fully reply'd to.

SECT. I.

MY firſt Buſineſs then muſt be to Expoſtulate with thoſe worthy *Friends* and *Admirers* of the *Author*, whether they have not a *Commonwealth* deſign in *Publiſhing* theſe *venerable Remains* of his, and do not give more than ſecret intimation thereof in their *Preface*, &c. yet I cannot believe they are any otherwiſe his Friends, than agreeing in the

ſame Notions of *Commonwealthiſm*, whereof they eſteemed him a doughty *Patron*; for 'tis generally preſum'd the laſt of his Acquaintance and Confidents was *S----by B----el*, with whom thoſe many *Reams* of Paper, he had, whilſt grumbling in *Swiſſerland*, emptied his *gall* into, were entruſted: and report ſpeaks that he was trick'd of them by a *Republican* confident who beſt underſtood to make the beſt of them, as well for the *Good Old Cauſe*, as his own Advantage; which 'tis further ſaid the churliſh *Nabal* was very angry at, and would have reſented accordingly, had not Death interpos'd, and put an end to that Diſpute. The *Uſurper* of the *Copy*, having now got quiet, and ſole Poſſeſſion, conſulted, more than once, the whole *Calves-head* Fraternity, not without ſome *Repreſentatives*, as to the moſt creditable way of *Publiſhing*; where in concluſion, it was reſolv'd to cut off the ſuperfluities of that ſlovenly *Swiſs* dreſs 'twas left in, and notwithſtanding the *Books*, and their many Prejudices againſt *France*, ſend it forth in that *Alla-mode* way of *Memoirs*. For what reaſon they affected ſo much *Umbrage* as to date their *Preface* from *Bern*, and ſuppoſe the Impreſſion at *Vevay*, I ſhall not concern my ſelf; had they ſaid at *Darby* it had

had been nigher home, and nigher truth too; nay certainly ſo, by a little quibling tranſition from *Place* to *Perſon*.

To come to their *Preface*, which good *Books* as little want, as good *Wine* a *Buſh*, they begin with a ſtale Common-place flouriſh *of the Reception the other Volumes have found in moſt Parts of* Europe, *and the inceſſant Inquiries of divers Perſons of Worth and Honour concerning theſe Remains*, &c. What reception they met Abroad I have not heard, to be ſure they are not yet tranſlated into any Foreign *Language*, and dare engage they never will: But that the *Publiſher* hath had a very good *Market* at home ſhall be readily granted, as well for what was formerly obſerv'd, that this Age's vitiated *Palate* reliſh nothing more than ſuch crude unhealthy ſtuff, as feed the *Diſeaſe*, rather than nouriſh the *Body*; as likewiſe all Men of ſence, and ſober underſtanding were oblig'd to look into them, the better to refell thoſe many Cavills and Conceits wherewith every *ſuperficial Reader* is not more eaſily impos'd upon, than forward to impoſe upon others. And really the only good I can poſſibly hope for, from the many forward Abettors of ſuch deſperate all-deſtroying *Innovations*, is that by degrees it

it may awaken ſuch as apprehend much better, would they exert their Parts, into a due conſideration of the *Inſolence* and *Arbitrarineſs* of this Faction when in Power, and that the ſame *Evil Spirit* poſſeſſing us once again, it would be *more than ſeven times worſe than at firſt.*

One thing I muſt take notice of by way of *Preliminary*, as very artfully manag'd, by all the Modern *Writers* upon this Subject, they bend their whole force againſt Sir *Robert Filmer*, who writing at the beginning, or before the *Wars*, for ſo his *Patriarcha* was, proceeded upon one grand *Poſtulatum*, which the innocence and ſimplicity of thoſe quiet times aſſented to for undoubted truth, and upon the acknowledgment of *Revealed Religion*, with the *Hiſtory* of the *Creation*, only from thence diſcover'd may indeed be cavill'd at, but not diſprov'd; the *Poſtulatum* is this, That as *God* is *Sovereign Lord* of the *Univerſe*, ſo here upon our little Spot, (this *Ant-hill*, as *Lucian* terms it, where Men creep up and down, and quarrel each other for every deſpicable clod) he delegated to Mankind a *Superiority* over all deſcended from him; by which means as they are not free to chooſe whatever *Governors*, or *Forms* of *Government* they pleaſe, ſo is there not

the

the leaſt danger of *thraldom*, or *ill uſage*, under ſo *natural*, and *indulgent* an *Oeconomy*; for the treatment of *Children* is quite different from that of *Servants* or *Slaves*; which our *Republicans* would moſt illogically inferr, and make much clamour about, vet nevertheleſs if the former the *Children* be untractable, defective in their duty, and bounden reſpect; 'tis moſt incongruous to ſuppoſe, even from the dictates of *common reaſon*, they that gave them *Being*, ſhould be without a Power of Reſtraint, and Controll. This Sir *Robert* lays down as the *Baſis*, the *Foundation* of all *Regiment*, from whence, as Mankind multiply'd, it grew up from *Paternal*, to *Monarchical*, where the People too much reſembling *Children*, of a *froppiſh*, unmanageable *diſpoſition*, 'tis equally reaſonable their Common *Parent* ſhould here likewiſe have a judgment of diſcretion, to *countenance*, or *chaſtiſe* according to their different deportments: Now as this is the *Origin* from whence that worthy *Gentleman* deduceth all *Government*, ſo is it leſs liable to *Exception*, *Oppreſſion*, &c. than any of thoſe popular *Models* this uneaſie Age is ſo fruitful of, and troubleſom with; but how readily any one may pervert anothers meaning, the common

courſe

courſe of *Controverſie* unhappily diſcovers, where each one dreſſes up his *Adverſary*, as the *Heathens* did the *Primitive Chriſtians*, in the Skins of *Wild Beaſts*, or ſome ſuch like terrible ſhape, and then loo the *Reader* to fall upon, and devour them: whereas the foremention'd *Hypotheſis*, taken in a candid and true ſence, as it gives no more Power to the *Prince*, than a *Father* hath over his *Children*, ſo is it moſt forward to grant all thoſe *Rights* and *Privileges*, theſe buſy Men make ſuch a noiſe and clamour about; only deſigns to give them a true Notion of the thing according to its *Original*, its *Divine Inſtitution*; that ſo they might thankfully, and reſpectively enjoy them, without offending *God*, and diſturbing, or ſubverting the *Peace*, and *Welfare*, of that *Community* wherein they live. Yet at the foremention'd ſevere rate is Sir *Robert* treated, in the former of thoſe *Two Treatiſes of Government*; as if he deſign'd nothing but *Slavery*, and *Oppreſſion*, to all Mankind, and that nothing leſs could be deduc'd from the *Principles* upon which he proceeds. And that *Folio* of *Diſcourſes* written upon the ſame Subject, By the *Honourable Embaſſador of the Commonwealth of* England, (a commendable *Character* for a Perſon of an *Ancient*, and

Noble

Noble Family, to be *Miniſter* to ſuch a pack of R——) uſeth him in the like miſtaken, ill-bred manner.

And here I cannot but propound one thing which muſt be acknowledged reaſonable, that ſince there are a new Set of Men ſo earneſt to revive that old Controverſie of *Commonwealthiſm*, they would act ſo ſquarely, be ſo ingenuous, as to make an Univerſal Search into the matter, conſider thoſe many *Enlargements* others have made upon the forementiond *Premiſſes*; for Sir *Robert Filmer* only brake the ice, was indeed the firſt who dar'd to *Remonſtrate* the curſed Conſequences, and horrid Impieties of that *Rebellion* they were run into; but, as already mention'd, writ only in general, according to the univerſally received *Maxims* of precedent Times, till the *Jeſuit*, and *Calviniſt*, ſet up, the one for the *Pope*, the other for the *People*; and ſo turn'd all things topſy turvy. I ſay therefore, it were more generous, and to the purpoſe, would they take notice, and reply to what hath been further on, with greater particularity, and exactneſs written upon this occaſion: for the *Pen*-quarrel went on with that of the *Sword*, and was much more ſucceſsful in every *Engagement*; it would be therefore no little

little ſatisfaction to all impartial Enquirers, could theſe *bold Undertakers* be prevail'd upon, in a full reply, to anſwer what that Prodigy of all Reading, the *moſt Reverend and Learned* Uſher, writ, during the *Rebellion*, tho' ſince Printed; *Of the Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject.* And his worthy *Succeſſor* the great *Bramhall*, did in the heat of the War write the *Serpent Salve*, in Anſwer to a *Virulent Libel*, which contain'd all thoſe popular *Deluſions*, the *Rebels* then made uſe of to impoſe upon, and betray the *Nation*. An ingenious young *Gentleman*, Mr. *Dudly Diggs*, did likewiſe at the ſame time write of *The Unlawfulneſs of Subjects taking up Arms againſt their King*: with many other unanſwerable Pieces of that Nature, which theſe great *Sticklers*, for their *Sovereign Lords the People*, or rather their own *Maggots*, and *wild Projects*, never did, nor never will take notice of. What Dr. *Taylor* hath likewiſe written of the *Supreme Power* in his *Caſes of Conſcience*, is too clearly ſtated for them ever to meddle with. And to come to what hath paſs'd ſince the *Reſtauration* in 60; when *Charles the Second*'s unaccountable *Remiſsneſs* gave their *Demagogueſhips* an opportunity of ferment-

fermenting the People, to very nigh their 41 *infatuations*; among others, a very learned, and moſt accompliſh'd Gentleman, Sir *George Mackenzie*, writ a little Tract, call'd, *Jus Regium*, or the *Juſt and Solid Foundations of Monarchy in General*, &c. which tho' calculated more immediately for the *Meridian* of his own *Country*, yet may it indifferently ſerve for the whole *Iſland*, with any other Part of the *Civiliz'd* World; this Piece more eſpecially is what I would provoke the whole Set of our reviv'd *Rota Club* to take notice of, and reply to, if they can; for 'tis writ both like a *Divine*, and a *Lawyer*, ſo conciſe, and yet withall ſo full upon each account, as nothing can be more exactly or clearly expreſs'd: He there makes it appear how impoſſible it is, that all the People in any Nation ſhould be brought to *Conſult* of their *Publick* concerns; yet every private *Man* and *Woman*, according to theſe pretended *Laws of Nature*, this *Popular Birth-right*, have an equal claim with the moſt Fragmatical *Pretender*, and *potior eſt conditio negantis*: Obſerving further, that ſuch plauſible Intrigues have been the common *wheadle* of *inſolent*, *factious Spirits*, to delude, and engage the *Rabbles* aſſiſtance in ſubverting the preſent *Eſtabliſh-*

ment,

ment, and if the attempt ſucceed, become
P. 64. really thoſe *Grievances* to the People, falſly ſuggeſted in the former, yet the *ball* being once ſet a *running*, the *breach* made, it can end in nothing but confuſion; for they that have ſubverted one *Government* may juſtly expect a *Retaliation*, and ſo the freak continu'd, or purſu'd, by one *Bautefeu* after another, without the leaſt proſpect of redreſs. All which muſt be an undoubted conſequence of what Mr. *Sidney* ſo poſitively lays down in thoſe *Rhapſodies* of his, *Sect.* 4. *Part* 3. *That the People for whom the Magiſtrate is created, can only judge whether he rightly perform his Office, or not*; excellent *Judges* without doubt, and very ſteady in their *Reſolves*: Altho' *Tacitus* who hath hitherto paſs'd for a judicious *Hiſtorian*, was of a quite different Perſwaſion, in that he ſaith, *Plebi non judicium, non veritas*: And *Tully*, thought no mean *Stateſman* in the *Roman Repub-*
Pro Planc. *lick*, paſſes the ſame cenſure, *Non eſt Conſilium in vulgo, non Ratio, non Diſcrimen, non Diligentia,*——*Ex opinione plurima, ex veritate pauca judicat*: But our Modern *Politico's* underſtand better, or rather deſign otherwiſe, to be the *Gracchi*, the *Marij* of our times, nothing more ſatisfactory to their turbulent *Spi-*

rits,

rits, and bloody *Minds*, than *Proſcription*, and *Slaughter*.

But to urge this a little further, how ſhall the People judge or determine when theſe their admired *Patriots* or *Ring-leaders* fall in pieces? what a *nonplus* were they put to upon the *Conſervators* of their *Liberties*, as they were held in hand, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* being divided, whilſt the *Army* interpos'd to make the leſſer part the whole; the Peoples *judgment* was then much regarded and their *Rights* maintain'd, their *Purſe*, and *Perſons* altogether free, that was to be diſpos'd of by their *mercenary Mamalucks* not themſelves; till thus by inceſſant, and unſufferable *Impoſitions*, that *oppreſſion*, which according to *Solomon*, *makes wiſe men mad*, made theſe *fools* ſober, in which ſenſible Mood, as the diſcreet *Athenian* foreſaw in the like caſe, they were for tearing in pieces all that occaſion'd their *miſtakes* and *miſchiefs*. I had not mention'd the precedent pernicious *Maxim* of the *Peoples being the venerable Judges of their Superiors actions*, but for that it exactly agrees with what *Ludlow* more than once inveighs againſt, in the then *Lord Chief Baron* Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, becauſe, ſitting *Chief Commiſſioner* at the *Tryal* of the *Regicides*, he had

the assurance to tell the *Jury*, *That no Authority, no single Person, nor Community of persons, not the people Collectively or Representative, have any coercive Power over the King of* England: great assurance this, yet is it much greater in the *Publisher*, since all the *Books* in his *Shop*, and *Warehouse* too, will scarce be able to *fee* any one *Lawyer* of Sense and Reputation throughout the several *Inns* of *Court*, to averr the contrary, deny under his hand, that 'tis not one main *Fundamental* of our *Ancient Monarchy*, and upon which the whole *Government* depends: is not then the Printing thereof, to be *aiding and assisting* in something, which hath in former days been termed *Treason*, and would not have pass'd without a due resentment, of what kind soever the *Monarchy* were? Yet however forward they are to abridge others, Mr. *Sidney* lays it down as essentially necessary in his *Model*, *that the Legislative Power should be always Arbitrary*, and so it hath been, and ever will in such hands as theirs; for what he adds, *not to be trusted in the hands of any, who are not bound to obey the Laws they make*, is trifling, and depends solely upon their own choice; neither will a partial respect to each other, ever suffer it to take place: whereupon 'tis grown to a Proverb in the *Low Countries*,

Countries, He that goes to *Law* with any in the *Government* is either *Fool*, *or Madman*; and here at home we may have obſerv'd, ſuch as moſt vigorouſly oppos'd *Prerogative*, have ſtood as earneſtly upon, and been very forward to ſtretch their own *Privileges*; and yet we muſt not ſay, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* or think the People little *Redreſs'd*, if both thoſe *Backets* be not equally pois'd. This to be ſure is a well known Paſſage, that tho' the *Law* took hold of *Munſon*, and *Harry Marten*, during *Cromwell's Uſurpation*, for their juſt Debts, yet when ſent for out of *Gaol* to make a *Quorum* of *Rumpers*, 'tis ſcarce a Queſtion whether they paid ſo much as their Fees, and would not have had a revenge upon their *Creditors* for committing them, had their *Tyranny* continu'd, for ſo it really was, and hath ever been, ſince *Athens* try'd the Experiment of 30 for one.

However in this we will *join Iſſue* with them, that the *Supreme Power* in what hand ſoever it is, muſt be *Arbitrary*, and *Uncontrollable*; and this hath been with great reaſon brought an *Argument* for *Monarchy*, as better in one, than many *hands*, eſpecially according to our *Eſtabliſhment*, where, tho' the *Prince* is *Free*, his *Miniſters* are liable, and have

been frequently call'd to an account for whatever *infractions*, or *violations* they made upon the *Laws*; an excellent *Temperament* this, could it have been profecuted with *temper*; but that being a main *Deſideratum* among us, eſpecially in the preſent caſe, hath too often turn'd the *Remedy* into a *Diſeaſe*, to ſay no more in ſo nice a *Point*.

But to return to our *Editors* of this Third *Volume*, it will be requiſite to take notice of thoſe particular *Inſtructions* in their *Preface*, which they *think, if not miſtaken, may prove ſerviceable to the World*. The firſt whereof is, *That tho' the moſt violent Animoſity and Deſire of Revenge had ſo poſſeſs'd the Engliſh Court againſt thoſe who had any part in the Death of* Charles I. *&c.* Whereto I reply, that 'tis ſcarce poſſible to ſuppoſe there ſhould be any Extream in the Proſecution of thoſe who had any part in the Death of *Charles* I. It was ſo Horrid ſo Execrable a Fact as deſerves all thoſe Curſes of the 109 *Pſalm*, for tho' literally Penn'd upon that *unnatural Rebellion* of *Abſolom*, and *Achitophel*, with their *Complices*; yet was it prophetically fulfill'd in *Judas*, and the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, who *betray'd* and *Crucify'd* the *Son of God*: and may from thence be transferr'd to our *Sanhedrim* at

at *Weſtminſter*, who ſeem'd ſtudiouſly to *Copy* that Helliſh *Original*, and would have done the ſame by *Chriſt* had he ſtood as much in their way. Neither yet was the *Engliſh Court* ſo violent as here repreſented, but quite on the contrary gave frequent checks, by *Meſſages*, and otherwiſe, to thoſe juſt *Reſentments* both *Lords and Commons* were often about, who look'd upon themſelves as oblig'd both in *Honour* and *Conſcience*, to make ſome *expiation* for that *innocent Blood*, theſe *Sons* of *Wickedneſs* had *ſhed like water on every ſide:* and this *Ludlow* owns, *the Lords were inclin'd to revenge their own Order on the Perſons of ſome in the High Court of Juſtice, and to except one of the Judges for every Lord they had put to Death*, p. 34. and if true, as he relates, *that a certain Lord diverted it by naming one already dead*, it cannot ſeem ſtrange, conſidering how far himſelf was engag'd in the *Rebellion:* Nevertheleſs ſuch little temporary Evaſions had taken no effect, but that the *Court* intereſt conſtantly thwarted whatever look'd like Severity, tho' never ſo *juſt*. From whence likewiſe the *Act of Indempnity* was moſt earneſtly preſs'd, and at length paſs'd in ſo free a manner, as moſt men of thought foreſaw, and foretold, it would have little

other effect, than to incourage the like *Villainies* for the time to come, ſince after Twenty Years unparallel'd Violations of all things *Sacred and Civil*, of *God* and *his Church*, the *King*, and his *People*, their *Laws* and *Liberties*, with whatever elſe tended to the Peace, and Happineſs of a *Nation*, all ſhould be paſs'd by and pardon'd, without any exemplary Puniſhment, more than a Dozen, or Fourteen ſuch hardned *Wretches* as would not own their *Regicidie* to be a *Crime*, or that the *Rebellion* was not juſtifiable in the whole courſe thereof: all the reſt of what Sect or Faction ſoever, by the Magick of the foremention'd Act were transform'd into as honeſt, faithfull, *Loyal Subjects* as ever wore *Sword*, none ſo fit for buſineſs, or worthy to be truſted as they, nay, 'twas made *actionable* to ſay they had been *Rebels*; altho' with *Æſop*'s *Cat* there were daily diſcoveries, how much was retain'd of their priſtine Nature, and conſequently how little they would act to the reputation, or intereſt of thoſe, ſo earneſt for, and affected with the *Metamorphoſis*.

A late *Miniſter of State*, in a Neighbour *Kingdom*, perhaps as great that way as this, or any other age hath produc'd, when dead, left by way of *Teſtament*,

or

or *Legacy* to his *Royal Maſter*, ſeveral Diſcourſes equally relating to the paſt and future management of *Affairs*: Among others, there is one of *Rewards* and *Puniſhments*, upon which *Topick* he makes it appear, that next *God's Bleſſing*, they are the main ſupport of a *Monarch*, or any other Govrnment whatſoever; and if ſo, it need not be further enquired, how, and by what defects, we have continu'd all along in ſo *tottering* a condition. I ſhall not much inſiſt upon *Henry* VIII's. procedure againſt the *Northern Rebels* in his time, becauſe it may be, not without ſomething of truth, term'd *Cruelty*; but muſt obſerve that his Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, who is own'd on moſt hands, for *Wiſe*, and *Good*, and adviſ'd by thoſe that were ſo, upon that little *Inſurrection* of the two Earls, *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, with their Complices, had no leſs than *Seventy* Executed, and ſome Hundreds beſide puniſh'd in *Eſtate*, and *Family*; by which means ſhe never met the leaſt Diſturbance of that kind, the long remaining part of her Reign. But in the preſent caſe, it was uſual with them to object, and take hold of the *King's Declaration* from *Breda*, which as it clear'd him from all deſigns of Revenge, ſo they ſhould have further

conſider'd, that he left all Matters of Puniſhment, for a *free Parliament* to reſolve what might be moſt proper in that way; and was better than his word, to that ungrateful Party, earneſtly preſſing both *Houſes*, to haſten that too general *Amneſty*, who otherwiſe, had not the *Royal* importunity interpos'd, were very much inclin'd, as aforeſaid, to make full expiation for that *Rebellion* and *Bloodſhed*, for which, upon their default, 'tis to be fear'd, *Almighty God* continues to take his own *Satisfaction*. In ſhort, as the *King* of *Heaven* muſt be own'd on all hands the beſt Precedent for any earthly *Potentate* to imitate, ſo more eſpecially in acts of *Juſtice*, and *Mercy*, who tho' he abounds in the latter, yet forgives no otherwiſe than upon *Repentance*, and *Amendment*, with ſome ſignal inſtances thereof; which had it been obſerv'd in the caſe before us, might have conduc'd very much, to ſecuring the *Nations* Peace, and ſaving the *Rebels* Souls.

But perhaps theſe *Friends* of the *Author* will reſtrain this deſire of Revenge in the *Engliſh Court*, to a deſign of Aſſaſſinating ſuch of the *Regicides* as had eſcap'd Abroad, about which they make a very falſe and inſolent Harangue, that *they thought the moſt baſe, and treacherous ways*

ways of compaſſing their Ends not to be rejected, whereas from his own relation the many attempts deſign'd upon his precious Life, might in a great meaſure proceed from the fears of his guilty Mind, for doubtleſs *Cain*'s *curſe* was upon him to an high degree, otherwiſe he might have ſuppos'd *Swiſſerland* to be a Receptacle for other *Out-Laws*, beſide him and his Party, and not have ſuſpected, that *Du Pre*, and *Rouz* had a deſign to add their Murther, to what they had already committed, but get a *Protection* in the ſame manner with thoſe *Royal Murtherers*, from their *Swiſs Excellencies*; and as they were all *Foreigners*, which he mentions to be at, or hover about *Vevay*, ſo he doth not make it appear, in the leaſt, that they had any thing of correſpondence with the *Engliſh Court*, much leſs ſupply'd with *Treaſure* from thence; tho' that and the infamy is moſt impudently charg'd in the *Preface*. In like manner the countenance they pretended to from the *Dutcheſs* of *Orleans* might be forg'd by them, or him, for they are equally creditable, and 'tis not likely, were ſuch a thing deſign'd, they would imploy *inſtruments*, who dar'd not ſhow their heads in *France*. Neither, till *Liſle* was cut off, do I find they ſuſpected any

thing

thing of that kind, but to be ſeiz'd upon, and carried over the *Lake* into *Savoy*, and ſo convey'd for *Juſtice* into *England*, as their friends *Okey*, and the reſt were; for which he inveighs moſt bitterly againſt the *Dutch*, as fearing it might be a leading caſe to himſelf.

As for *that one, the only perſon, they ſay, who fell the object of the Engliſh Courts fury*, neither *Ludlow* nor his friends do make it any way appear they had encouragement from thence, but did it rather to gain an intereſt there, wherein too their expectations were much diſappointed. To give the true matter of fact it ſtands thus; three or four *Iriſh* who had been in the *French* Service, whether Diſcharg'd, or otherwiſe deſirous to get home, thought to ſignalize themſelves by this *bloody Attempt*, and find the more welcom reception, which was accordingly accompliſh'd, and variouſly diſcours'd of here in *England* when done; where the moſt, tho' they deteſted *Liſle*, and all his Works, were not ſatisfy'd with the way of taking him off; nor car'd to converſe with the Perſons who did it; ſome of their own *Countrymen* ſeem'd indeed to think otherwiſe, cry'd it up for an *Heroick Act*, and never wanting aſſurance at *Court Solicitations*, preſs'd

preſs'd earneſtly to have them conſider'd, whereby ſomewhat was done for them, moſtly in *Military* Commands, during the *Dutch* War, and afterwards as occaſion ſerv'd; to be ſure as they were not put upon their firſt attempt, ſo never more imploy'd in any thing of that kind, whatever *Ludlow* prates of that pitiful *Stocking-mender* Car: One of thoſe *Iriſh*, may be yet, I am ſure was very lately, Living upon his *paternal* Eſtate, by virtue of the *Limerick Articles*, in his own *Country*.

In the mean while commend me to theſe *Prefacers*, who can inſult ſo boldly that their *Hero liv'd to ſee that Tyranny brought to the laſt degree of contempt, which had taken ſuch pains to deſtroy him*; his Life doubtleſs according to his own relation muſt be very uneaſie, from the many, whether *real*, or *imaginary* fears he continually lay under; but then it muſt be the extremity of Vexation, that they who alter'd the *Tyranny* (as their Worſhips are pleas'd to phraſe it) would not let this *Monſter* of a *Regicide* continue among them, but forc'd him back with as great remorſe as the bad *Angels* fell from on high; and in all probability haſtned his deſcent unto them. And I fanſie 'tis with no little regret to theſe his ſurviving

ving *Friends*, that there is any thing of that *Tyranny* ſtill continu'd among us, for the extirpation whereof they ſo much applaud their *Author*.

2. For the next thing they think not unſerviceable to the World, is *That the Tragical end of the King's Judges, may inſtruct thoſe who ſhall in future time appear in Defence of Liberty*, &c. where firſt 'tis a bold ſtroke to call them *Judges*, *Murderers* had been properer, but not ſo agreeable to the concern they ſeem all along to expreſs for their miſcarriage, and the hopes they have of its being undertaken again with wiſer management, and conſequently better ſucceſs. Whereas I dare confidently averr, that as the *Nation* may be ſo far infatuated to let ſuch Pretenders to *Liberty* once more act their Parts, ſo in concluſion they will undoubtedly bring them to the like *Tragical end*.

3. A further Leſſon we are to learn of theſe *Commonwealth Sages*, is *from the Cromwellian Tyranny*, (which nevertheleſs carries with it an underhand ſtroak at *Monarchy* in general) *that Liberty, and a mercenary Standing Army are incompatible*, and really I think ſo too, and yet withall am very much afraid, as their Wiſdoms have manag'd Matters, no *Liberty*

berty can be preſerv'd without one: For as *Ariſtotle* obſerves in reference to his precedent times, *That the firſt Commonwealth among the* Greeks *was made by the Soldiers after the failing of Monarchy*: So upon an impartial Retroſpection into the Tranſactions of the *Northern* Parts of *Europe* theſe two laſt *Centuries*, it will appear that *Commonwealthiſm*, and *Standing Armies* began together, and occaſion'd one the other; for when the People were put upon *Rebelling* for *Religion*, pretended *Liberty of Conſcience* to *Controul* the *Magiſtrates* juſt *Rights*, carrying all things by a *Mob Reformation*; that *Chriſtian Simplicity*, and *Reverential Obedience*, by which our forefathers had been taught *to ſubmit not only for Wrath, but Conſcience ſake*, was altogether Superſeded, and the *Civil Power* oblig'd to arm its ſelf againſt this *Spiritual Uſurpation*, which made every *Conſiſtory* a *Conclave*, a *Commonwealth* of *Popes*, who perſwaded their *Votaries*, that to *rebell* againſt their *Prince*, was to fight the *Lord's Battle*, and that the appointed time was now come for bringing into Subjection all the *Kingdoms of Darkneſs*; the *Sword* being now drawn, upon this contradictory account to promote the *Goſpel of Peace*, according to the uſual event of War, met

Pol. *lib.* 4. *c.* 13.

met with different Succeſs, in ſome places the People prevail'd, and thereupon Voted themſelves a *Free State* : in others the *Prince*, and made the People ſenſible *he beareth not the Sword in vain* : tho' it often happen'd that growing weary on either ſide, they breath'd in a *Truce* or *Peace*, till the one or other found a more convenient opportunity to revive the *Quarrel*. Thus it was in *France* ; thus in the *Netherlands*, and ſeveral Parts of *Germany* ; and thus at laſt it came to be in *England* : Now of all theſe different *Succeſſes*, I find each of them centre in this one fatal *Event* ; they that became a *Free State* are forc'd to keep a *Standing Army*, to maintain their imaginary *Liberty*, and the People, *tax'd* and *poll'd*, ten times more than before, in order thereunto, and where the *Prince* prevail'd, he is likewiſe forc'd upon a *Guard* to prevent his *Libertine Subjects* from running into their former *Lunacies*, and cannot be blam'd for making them bear the *Charge*. And where there was *Ceſſations*, or *Treaties*, the *Soveraign Power*, what with art, and force, is become more *Abſolute* than ever, and repays, with denying all *Liberty*, their at firſt unreaſonable demands of too much. And now, to come home to our ſelves, as this *Spiritual freak* began

began laſt among us, ſo cannot the wiſeſt of men foreſee, where, or when it will end, a good one none can expect; which too muſt render us the more *ſtupidly ſenſeleſs*, for that we ran wilfully upon the ſame *Rock*, many of our *Neighbours* had *Shipwrack'd* on before our eyes; made the like noiſe about *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Conſcience*, &c. till the *Mob* was *rais'd* to force away the *King*, and then an *Army* rais'd to bring him back, which *Army* having after a *bloody Conteſt*, ruin'd the *King*, and all his *Loyal* Adherents, fell upon their *Maſters*, turn'd out the *Preſbyterian* to gratifie the *Independent*, and turn'd out the *Independent*, to gratifie their *General*; by which means that cunning *toty-nos'd* fellow ſet up his *Tyranny* indeed, and made them all ſneak to it moſt *Submiſſively*. Now from theſe Premiſſes it clearly appears, that as our *Commonwealth Reformers* rais'd the *Army*, ſo the *Army* rid the *Commonwealth*, which they have never fail'd to do at all times, and will continue the like courſe for the future, let them take what care they can. For theſe our *Preſacers* diſcover themſelves to be but *Owl-ey'd Judges* of *Light*, to ſay, *'Tis as clear as the Sun at Noon day that the Parliament by neglecting to put a Period to the exorbitant Greatneſs*

of

of Oliver Cromwell *immediately after the Battle at* Worceſter, *drew Deſtruction upon themſelves and the whole Commonwealth*, &c. Cromwell *and his* Creatures, wherewith he had fill'd the *Army*, was long before to them as the *Tartar* to the *Scotchman*, would neither go as they would have him, nor let them go but as he pleas'd, altho' that laſt was a *finiſhing ſtroke*. But ſuppoſe the *Army* had been Disbanded, that little *Neſt* of *Cockatrices*, would have been as much in danger from ſeveral other hands; the *Cavalier* Party, tho' kept deſperately down, was not in any manner *dis-ſpirited*; and the main Body of the *Nation* was ſo exaſperated at their inſolent *carriage*, and abominable *Exactions*, beſides the contempt they had of their *Number*, *Perſons*, and *Manners*, that not one ſingle Order of theirs would have been obey'd, without a Company of *Janizaries* to inforce it; nor they permitted to ſit three days, or walk the *Streets* with reſpect and ſecurity, as at laſt it happen'd; for the *Nation*, no longer able to bear their *Inſolencies* and *Tyranny*, diſpatch'd them and then the *Army*; and a happy Riddance it was of both.

After all therefore, upon a Proſpect of the whole, theſe *unweildy Projectors* have brought the *Nation* into ſo many odd

Dilemma's

Dilemma's as a *Standing Army* among us, is like to be as the *Mathematici*, Aſtrologers, or Figure-flingers with the *Romans*, *Genus hominum quod ſemper vetabitur, & ſemper retinebitur*; if we have a *Commonwealth* they muſt have an *Army* to ſupport them, ruin the *Church*, cruſh the *Nobility*, keep down the *Gentry*, with what elſe they pleaſe when they once get the Power: and if we have a *Monarchy* there muſt be ſomewhat of an *Army*, by way of Security from the continu'd Underminings of ſuch unquiet *Spirits* as underſtand nothing of true *Government*, yet think it cannot be well unleſs in their hands, according to their *maggotty fancies*, and *humorſome Capricio's*; this, I ſay, is the condition their *Wiſdoms* have brought us into; an *Army* we can hardly be without, and yet how faithfull that *Army* will be to any but themſelves, that is their continuance, and perpetuity, we have more than once ſeen, on each ſide, and are in a likely way to ſee more than once again.

This *Monſtrous Tyranny* of *Cromwell's Uſurpation* is repreſented with one further aggravation of his *Baſha's* under the name of *Majors General*, which were indeed ſufficiently *Grievous*, tho' a juſt return upon ſuch as had groul'd and cla-

mour'd at the mildeſt adminiſtration of their *Rightful Prince's* undoubted *Prerogative*; yet after all 'tis a *Clodius Mæchos* for the *Commonwealth* Party to charge *Cromwell* with that, or any other ſuch barbarous Impoſitions, ſince he did but tranſcribe the *Copy* they had ſet him; particularly his *Majors General* were but a ſingle *Perſon* to their *Committees*, and nothing nigh ſo inſolent as that underhand *Commonwealth of Baſha's*, plac'd by them in all *Counties* throughout the *Kingdom*, to *Sequeſter* every man's *Eſtate*, and *Impriſon* his *Perſon*, whom they ſuſpected to diſlike their Proceedings, or uneaſie to pay their moſt intolerable *Exactions*. Take one *Specimen* thereof from that *Hogon-Mogon Committee* at *Goldſmiths-Hall*, from this following *Order*,

THeſe are to give you notice, That by virtue of an Ordinance *of the* 27th. *of* October *laſt, you are* Aſſeſſed *to* lend *the Summ of* Fifty Pounds *of lawful Engliſh Money, to be Paid for our* Brethren of Scotland, *for their aſſiſting of us in this* War; *and that you are forthwith to pay the ſame, to Mr.* Waring, *and Mr.* Herring, Treaſurers *at* Goldſmiths-Hall, *according to the ſaid* Ordinance; *and that if*

if you ſhall fail to pay the ſame, within 8 days *after the Date of this* Ticket, *you ſhall forfeit for every day, after the* 8 *days, the* Twentieth Part *of the* Summ *ſo* Seſſed, *and ſhall likewiſe pay* 2 s. *in every* Pound *over and above to the* Collectors *that are appointed to Levy the ſame, if you ſhall ſuffer your ſelf to be* diſtrain'd. *Dated this* 7th. *day of* May, 1644.

John Prat, Clerk to the Committee.

To Mr. *John Sadler*, of the Pariſh of *Stephen Walbrook.*

Was there ever any thing ſo *Arbitrary* and *impoſing* upon a *Free People*, and too by a *Set* of *Men* who had the Impudence with the ſame *Breath*, to hold the *People* in hand they ſtood up for their *Freedom* ? yet of ſuch *Committees*, as there were ſeveral in *London*, ſo did they proceed to *Eſtabliſh* them in the *Aſſociated Counties*, and with the curſed prevalence of their *Power* the whole Kingdom thorough, where every *honeſt*, *loyal Gentleman* was forc'd to appear a *Delinquent*, and be us'd at pleaſure, as you ſee in the fore-

mention'd *Order*. And this I cannot but further Obſerve as an unreaſonable and moſt wilfull Partiality, in our *Prefacers*, and indeed all their *Adherents*, that every thing from a *Single Perſon*, is right down *Tyranny*, and what all *people* who regard their *Liberty* may ſtand up againſt, and juſtly defend themſelves from; but theſe *Commonwealth Scorpions* muſt not be complain'd of, tho' their *little fingers* were all along *thicker than the others Loins*, every *Ordinance* from them as *Abſolve*, and as ſeverely *Executed* as the *Grand Seignior's Bow-ſtring*.

What they further add, that *Cromwell*'s, and his *Baſha's Tyranny* compelled the People to ſuffer the return of *Charles* II. is altogether falſe, for tho' they were not pleas'd in the leaſt with his many perfidious *Enterprizes*, which were all unmask'd in aſſuming the *Supreme Power*; yet was it thought eaſier, than the ſordid Impoſitions of the *fag end*, the *worſt part* of a *Parliament*, which had done ſo much Miſchief to the *Nation*, and from whoſe many *Corruptions* that *glaring Meteor* aroſe, with ſo fatal an *Aſpect* in our *Horizon*. Beſides, he manag'd his *Uſurpation* with ſo much Art, and *Treachery*, as there was little hopes of the *King*'s return during his Life, tho' frequent *Plots*

about

about it, and ſome worthy *Loyal Gentle-Men* cut off upon that account; indeed the *Plots* were thought moſt of his making, the *Common Stratagem* of all *uſurp'd Powers*. But when he was gone to his *proper place*, and his *Sons* half-witted management, made way for the *Rump*'s once more treading the *Stage*; the *Southern Sun*'s approach is not more certainly expected in the *Spring*, than every one ſeem'd to be of our *Old Eſtabliſhments*, that *Legal Monarchy*, and *Rightful Succeſſion*, which with ſo much Madneſs, and Folly, ſuch a prodigious expence of *Blood*, and *Treaſure*, had by ſeveral violent Factions been 20 *Years* oppos'd, and it happen'd accordingly, notwithſtanding the divided Parties endeavour'd a *Coalition*, and otherwiſe moſt indefatigably apply'd their laſt *efforts* to ſave themſelves from the *Gallows*, which their own *Conſciences* could inform them how juſtly deſerv'd, and 'tis a thouſand pities, they were *more afraid, than hurt*.

The laſt *Inference* theſe Friends of the *Author* thought fit to raiſe, is as groundleſs, and falſe, as any of the former, charging *Charles* II. *of Ingratitude to the Presbyterians, who had ſo well deſerv'd of him, by betraying all into his hands*, &c. whereas they never deſerv'd well of

him; nor did him any good they could prevent.

1. *They never deſerv'd well from him*, but on the contrary, were the *original Promoters*, and *chief Managers*, for the Six firſt *Years*, of all our *National Miſeries and Confuſions*: 'twas from their inducement the *Scots* began to diſturb the happy *Quiet* and *Repoſe* both *Kingdoms* were in; lay'd the Ground-work of our *Rebellion* by theirs, paid them for it in a moſt profuſe manner, and thereby engag'd them to aſſiſt at a dead lift; which wholly *unking'd* their *Sovereign*, and made him become a prey to the *Avarice* of the one, and *Arrogance* of the other, which too ſhamefully appear'd by their inſolent Rudeneſs, and ſcandalous Reſtraint at *Holmby*; and how far further they would have proceeded, had not the *Army* taken him out of their hands, may be well ſuppos'd from the continu'd courſe of that *ſtubborn Crew*; for tho' (their *Janizaries* having given them an *Eſſay* what they muſt expect, by *Excluding* the moſt leading *Members*, and threatening the reſt) a *Treaty*, was condeſcended to in the *Iſle of Wight*, yet were the *Preliminaries* ſo *Innovating*, and *Dethroning*, ſo deſtructive to all *Fundamentals* in *Church*, and *State*; and therein ſo grating

upon

upon His *Majeſty's Honour*, and *Conſcience*, that he thought *Death* more eligible than ſuch unreaſonable *Conceſſions*; which too their *Dilatory* Proceedings, till the *Army* had ſuppreſs'd the laſt Efforts of *Loyalty*, to reſcue their *Sovereign*, very much conduc'd to, and might by a juſt, and *Honourable compliance*, have otherwiſe prevented. This no man can deny to be a true, tho' brief account of the *Old King's* treatment from that *haughty, ſelf-will'd* Set of Men.

And that they would have been as impoſing upon his *Son*, could they have carried matters according to their own Minds, is as little to be doubted, whatever theſe men prate of betraying all into his hands. The *Comedian* repreſenting the *Beggars* at the choice of their *King*, (for it ſeems that *Kingdom* is *Elective*, and ſuch are always *beggarly*, or thereby made ſo) when voted, brings in one of his *ragged retinue*, haranguing him, among others, with this Expreſſion, *Now thou art King, who would not have thee ſo*; which was conſtantly apply'd by the *old Cavalier* Party, to thoſe empty *Shews* of *Reſpect*, and hollow *Acclamations* of Praiſe, wherewith they who forc'd, and kept him out, were moſt clamorous at his *Reſtauration*; would have none thought ſo

loyal, faithfull, and true as themſelves: Among the reſt, the *Presbyterian*, indeed was moſt aſſuming, for having the *twelve years* laſt paſt been kept, with very great regret, from doing any conſiderable Miſchief, by thoſe *viperous Sects* which crawl'd forth of their own *Bowels*; and upon this account, out of *Revenge* rather than any good Principle, held a correſpondence with the *King*, and his *Adherents* in *Exile*; at the *Reſtauration* ſtep'd before all the *Loyal Sufferers* which had conſtantly adher'd to the true intereſt of *Church* and *Crown*, highly advanc'd in *Honour*, *Place*, and *Profit*; ſo that quite contrary to theſe *Prefacers* impertinent Suggeſtions, inſtead of the *Presbyterians* betraying all into the *King's* hands, he betray'd himſelf and his *Cauſe* into theirs, and as ſoon as opportunity ſerv'd, they made ſeveral attempts to uſe him accordingly, but the People were grown too much *Libertines* for their *Rigours*, and the *Monarchy* was not ſo ſoon to have their *Covenant Shackels* forc'd upon it, although they indeavoured moſt earneſtly at the *Reſtauration* to have it upon the *Iſle of Wight Articles*, which their *Cloakmen* inceſſantly bellow'd for, and their *chiefs* underhand ſtrenuouſly indeavour'd the ſame; among others, this Paſſage is

a clear

a clear Proof; the hot *Lord Hollis*, from the beginning a moſt violent *Biggot* in that *Cauſe*, would, to his dying day, among his Confidents, with great earneſtneſs of Paſſion, call *Monk* that *Rogue*, becauſe giving him and his Party a meeting at the *Earl* of *Northumberland*'s, he promis'd to bring in the *King* upon the *Iſle of Wight* terms, and baſely fail'd them: Now as I believe on the one hand he never intended to gratify them, if ſuch a Promiſe was made, ſo could he not, tho' really intended, have brought it about; for whatever his deſign was at firſt, and his cloſe deportment conduc'd not a little to what he accompliſh'd, the inceſſant *Petitions* he met with from every corner of the *Kingdom* for a *Free Parliament* gave him full information, how the *Nations* Pulſe beat, and what alone would ſatisfie them, that is without regarding *Parties*, and *Factions*, to be as we were before fallen in pieces; and therefore to ſet the *Saddle* upon the right *Horſe*, the pretended Severity theſe Men charge the *King* withall, was really in the *Parliament*, the *Majority* whereof were a Set of as worthy underſtanding *Gentlemen* as ever aſſembled upon that account, who reſolv'd to go upon the *old Principle*, to re-eſtabliſh the *Nation* upon thoſe well-pois'd, long experienc'd

perienc'd *Conſtitutions* which *faction* and *folly* had ſo fatally perverted: 'twas they were uneaſie at ſo general an *Indemnity*, thinking ſuch as had been accuſtomed ſo long in Miſchief, could not leave off playing the *old game*, without ſome further Security; 'twas they preſs'd, and brought on the *Act* of *Uniformity*, how little to the Satisfaction of a too prevalent Party at *Court*, appear'd in that the Winter following an attempt was made to Superſede it by a *Toleration*: In fine, whatever the *Good old King* would have had from a *Parliament*, during his *Reign* to make us the happieſt People upon Earth, this would have moſt readily eſtabliſh'd; but the *Papiſt*, and *Presbyterian* rendred all *Abortive*.

Thus have I run over and made ſome *Remarks* upon ſuch *Inſtructions* as our *Prefacers* thought fit to obſerve from this third *Volume*; not but they grant *it doth afford many other more uſeful Reflections*, which is the trueſt word hath come from them, and therefore having their leave, or at leaſt acknowledgment, I ſhall preſume to cull out two or three, perhaps as *ſerviceable* to this World of ours, as any we have had from them.

1. The *Fanatick*, the *Commonwealth* Party, were never without ſome *Plot* or other,

other, both at home and abroad againſt the *Ancient Eſtabliſh'd Government*, this *Monarchy*, this *Tyranny* of ours, as upon all occaſions they term it, ſince the *Reſtauration*. And this I fanſie hath diſcover'd a very blind ſide in the *Author's* Friends to make ſo Publick a Declaration, of what hitherto was kept a Secret: for till now all *Plots* were laid at the *Papiſts* door, they alone muſt be thought the continu'd Underminers of our *Peace* and *Welfare*, and accordingly we have had ſeveral *Proſecutions* againſt them, ay, and *Executions* too, upon the Evidence and Oaths of ſuch profligate Wretches, as ought not to have paſs'd for the hanging a *Dog*: but ſuch a thing as a *Proteſtant Plot*, was not to be thought of among the holy *Brotherhood*, and *Godly Party*; they Diſſented indeed as to *Forms* of *Religious Worſhip*, and tho' a *King in our Iſrael*, *muſt have Liberty to do what ſeemeth right in their own eyes*, and this is the utmoſt of their demand, a little *Schiſm* they muſt have, but for *Sedition*, being diſſatisfy'd with the *Government*, giving any diſturbance to the *Civil Power*, was never admitted into their thoughts, they were as innocent, as free from that, as ſo many *two year old Devils*: and tho' the *Aſſaſſination* at the *Rye* was own'd by the

the very *Partiſans* engag'd, and their many *Conſults* in order to other *Diſturbances* fully made appear, yet not taking effect, muſt not be believ'd, ſuch good People cannot be ſuſpected of any miſchievous Deſign, unleſs accompliſh'd, and then 'tis *God's cauſe* and their *glory*: whereas this *Author* is very frank, and deals plainly in the matter; for tho' he had not fix'd his correſpondence in *Sixty One*, and will ſcarce credit that for which *Overton*, *Desborough*, &c. were ſecur'd, becauſe his *Excellency* was not conſulted in the Matter. Neither doth he mention what *Blood* told him was deſign'd in *Ireland*, becauſe that Fellow's reaching head diſcover'd how little he had of what his Party cry'd him up for; altho' it was about that time he tells, *p.* 118. *Upon the Prodigality of the Engliſh Court*, &c. *his Friends in all parts began to entertain hopes, that they might again be imploy'd to reſcue their Country from Servitude.* In which poſture of *Affairs*, Col. *Algernon* Sidney, *who ſince* Monk *acted his treacherous part, had reſided at* Rome, *and other parts of* Italy, *thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if opportunity offer'd, he might not be wanting to his Duty and Publick Service*; a very commendable *Duty*, and laudable *Service* to embroil

his

his *Country* in continu'd *Confuſions*, which till brought to the *Block*, we find this Colonel inceſſantly engag'd in, and very earneſt with *Ludlow* to *ſet forward with him, and put to his helping hand: eſpecially upon the firſt Dutch War, when his Generalſhip was accoſted on every ſide, and by every Party, French, Dutch, the Devil and all:* then it was *the forementioned Perſon of Honour preſs'd him to declare his concurrence*, p. 165. and his Brother *Regicide* Say, *tells him from* Amſterdam, *The ruin of the preſent Government in* England *is certainly intended, and that he had cauſe to believe would be effected*, p. 168. *for that a conſiderable number in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *will appear for us*, &c. Afterward *De Witt*, and *Newport* courted him at an high degree; and *his Friend* Sidney *invited him to meet at* Baſle, *that they might go together to* Paris, *the better to carry on the Undertaking:* Say *and* Briſco, add moreover, *that if he will reſolve to come, all the Exiles would accompany him, otherwiſe not a man ſtir*, p. 188. That great obſtacle likewiſe of his three Friends, *Okey*, &c. was ſet in a true *light*, not ſo foul as repreſented; with full aſſurance to his *Worthy ſelf*, and *Party*, of *an Honourable Reception, and ſecure abode with them.* Notwithſtanding

ſtanding all which fair Proffers, this cunning *old Fox* would not ſtir out of his *Swiſs Den*; and had reaſon, for tho' we grant his *Brutiſh* Courage fear'd a *Sword* as little as his Fellows, yet a *Gibbet* he could not digeſt: And further to recommend his Prudence, in this his cautious deportment, he tells us, *as the War was ended without the leaſt advantage to his Friends, or Cauſe; ſo he foreſaw it all along, that the Dutch were a mercenary People, and having ſecured their Trade, and other Advantages, made a Peace, ſo far from doing them any good, as on the contrary they promis'd to deliver up thoſe call'd Regicides into the hands of the King's Miniſters; and deal with all Perſons, who ſhould be declared Fugitives, or Rebels, in the ſame manner.* A ſad Diſappointment this: may ſuch ever attend them.

2. My next obſervation is an *Appendix* of very nigh affinity to the former, viz. *That men of Fanatick Commonwealth Principles, will never live quietly under any Monarchy whatſoever*; let it be of *God*, or *Men*, nay, from their very ſelves, 'tis all one, they will ſubmit no longer than needs muſt, and be very uneaſie whilſt compell'd thereto; of all which the forementionn'd *Characters*, as well as *Practices*, which *Ludlow* and his *Prefacers* beſtows

upon

upon it, are an abundant confirmation, for they vouchſafe it no other appellation than *Tyranny*, perfect *Tyranny*, in the harſheſt ſence the word is now taken, and that which all *Free People* ought to extirpate with the utmoſt abhorrency, and deteſtation: directly according with what I have already mention'd of their admired *Sidney*'s *Maxim*, that the *People are ſole Judges of their Superiors actions*; and foreſeeing a very weighty Objection to lie in the way, *ſuch a courſe would make the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe, give occaſion of continual Tumults and Civil Wars*; he very ſlightly replies, *Civil War*, in *Machiavel*'s *account*, *is a Diſeaſe, Tyranny the Death of a State*. Some other *Authorities* might have paſs'd better than *Machiavel*'s, but for want of better, his muſt ſerve the turn; had that unhappy *Gentleman* conſider'd his fate, it might have prevented his own, which tho' for nothing elſe, this dangerous Poſition moſt juſtly deſerves: that any man of ſence ſhould ſay *Civil War* is but a *Diſeaſe!* can any thing be more *Mortal* to a *State?* have not all *Tyrannies* commenc'd from thence? with unavoidable *Oppreſſion*, and *Slavery* to whatever People fall under that worſt of curſes: yet how far our *Publiſhers* have taken this infection, ap-

pears

pears in that they preſume ſo boldly to uſe the ſame *Epithet*, *Tyranny*, all is *Tyranny* with them, tho' never more was known, than from the no Conduct of ſuch raſh unexperienc'd *Phaetons*; and therefore to diſſwade them from any future attempts, 'tis my deſire they would tranſferr that *Admonition*, in their *Cloſe* given the *Presbyterians*, and apply it to themſelves (ſince altogether as agreeable) *A Revenge taken againſt thoſe who will not let us poſſeſs all, is a ſlender Satisfaction for the hazard of utter Ruine.*

3. There is but one thing more I will return upon theſe *Critical Obſervers*, and that ſhall relate to their admired *Author* himſelf, how they can juſtifie that *Oſtentation*, and *Applauſe*, he ſo fulſomly aſſumes in every the moſt trivial undertaking: the Firſt *Volume*, is more than one half ſtuff'd with ſuch *Vain-glorious Rhodamontades*. His defence of *Warder Caſtle* fills more Paper, than Sir *Francis Vere*'s Relation of the famous *Oſtend Siege*; when he was only block'd up to prevent his, and his fellow *Rebels* plundering the *Loyal Gentlemen* in the Neighbourhood; and could the *King*, who, good man, was ill furniſh'd that way, and had greater occaſion for them elſewhere, have ſpared two or three large

Battering-

Battering-Pieces it would have been beaten about their Ears in as few Hours; for want of which they were ſtarv'd into a *Surrender*: In like manner when *Priſoner*, how vainly doth he relate the many importunities to forſake his Party, and upon his reſolving to continue *Rebel*, what valuable Perſons were proffer'd in *Exchange*, as if the *fortune* of either *Side* had depended upon this great *Almanzor*'s abetment; when in truth, tho' that curſed turn rais'd ſo much *duſt* as choak'd the whole *Kingdom*, yet his part in it was no more than *Æſop*'s *Fly*, he did what Miſchief he could, but his *Vaunts* far excell his Performances. Neither was he valuable for any thing more in their *Civil Tranſactions* than a *grough poſitive humor*, reſolutely bent upon whatever his own *will* ſuggeſted, of which unmanageable diſpoſition he gave an early Specimen that little while he was at *Trinity-College Oxon*, where the then *Preſident* kept a ſtrict *Diſcipline*, and would frequently Moderate at the young *Students* Diſputations himſelf: It happen'd upon a time this *Poſitive Sir* was engag'd in an Argument about their *Species Intentionales* and *Reales*, or ſome ſuch like *Topick*, for he confidently affirm'd ſomething to be *Real*, which was very far

from it, the good Dr. endeavour'd to convince him by this following inſtance, *The Fox wagging his Tail, and ſeeing its Shadow upon the Wall, ſaid it was an Horn, was that an Horn*, quoth he to *Ludlow?* Yes it was a *Horn*, a *real Horn.* Wherein he ſo pertinaciouſly perſiſted, as the *Old man* fell into a little Paſſion, and put an end to that debate, with this reſolve, Well if it be a *Horn, then Toot it, you fool you:* How it was expreſs'd in *Latin* was not related; but I had the Paſſage from a *Right Reverend Perſon*, of great *Eminency*, who ſometime after was in the ſame *Preſidentſhip*, and upon a general Diſcourſe of *Fanatick Obſtinacy*, gave this particular inſtance how naturally ſome mens *Diſpoſitions* lead them thereto. For at the ſame *contradicting* rate he went on in the whole courſe of his *Life*; and tho' as heavy as *Lead*, yet as ſtiff as *Iron*, would bend to none, but break all other mens *Meaſures*, both good and bad, that did not come up to his *Levelling* Projects, (for that was his common *Epithet*, Ludlow *the Leveller*) with two or three ſuch *Whimſical Noſtrums* of his, as deſtructive to *Humane Society* as *crude Mercury* to the *Natural body.* With the like Arrogant fondneſs he relates how earneſt they were to compliment him into

into the *Lieutenant-Generalſhip* of *Ireland*; whereas had not *Pride* and *Pertinacy* altogether blinded his vain mind, half an eye might have diſcover'd there was no conſideration of his Abilities in the Propoſal, but a trick of *Cromwell*'s to remove him out of the way, that the *dark Deſigns* he had in agitation here might receive no obſtruction from ſuch an *unweildy fellow*, as might force him upon more Severity than was requiſite in the infancy of his *Uſurpation*. And this further appears upon *Ireton*'s *Death*, for he being next in *Command*, ſhould have in courſe come into the *Chief*, whereas his name was never ſo much as thrown up among them, but firſt *Lambert* was propounded, and then *Fleetwood* top'd upon him, as moſt proper to keep him under, when his *new Father-in Law* ſhould top them all, and civilly detain him from coming home, that he might not be as inſolent to the *Uſurper*, as he had been to his natural *Sovereign*.

We are now to follow him into *Swiſſerland*, where he highly applauds the *Reception* they met with, neither indeed could all *Europe* have afforded them a properer Place, the *Devil* and *Collier*, not being more alike, than theſe *Gueſts*, and their *Entertainers*: yet the *Character* he

gives them of the *Illuſtrious*, *High and Mighty Sovereigns*, *and moſt Honoured Lords*, *their Excellencies of* Bern, would make one think them the moſt *Auguſt Aſſembly* ever ſat at the *Helm* of any *Government*, the *Roman Senate* was nothing to them; whereas in truth never ſuch a Company of *Clodpated Clowns* aſſum'd the title of *Magiſtrates*; but ſince agreeable both to *Place*, and *People*, they paſs for tolerable there, whom a more civiliz'd *Nation* would by no means endure; at their firſt defection from the *Houſe of Auſtria*, as they had but few *Gentry* among them, and fewer engag'd with them, ſo they made an Order, that none ſhould be admitted into their new Eſtabliſh'd *Government*; and their *Plebeianſhips* have ever ſince proceeded accordingly, without regard to *Honor*, *Integrity* or *Good Manners*: as their *Strong Bodies*, and hardy *Conſtitutions* qualifie them for *War*, ſo their neceſſitous condition engage them to *Leaſe*-out their *Lives* to that *bloody trade*, upon which account likewiſe they too often proſtituted both *Souls*, and *Conſciences*, in moſt perfidious violations of whatever *Engagements* they entred into, as the *French*, *Spaniard*, and *Milaneſe* ſucceſſively experienc'd: one of theſe did ſince fix them, tho' at a *dear rate*,

rate, upon their firſt *Stipulation*, but is now upon better terms; and may by degrees *preſcribe* to them according to their own *meaſures*. This Compoſition of *Rocks* and *Cataracts*, was the *Aſylum* of our *Regicides*, and properly enough, as already ſaid, for that both the *Climate* was moſt agreeable to their *rough*, *ſevere* Diſpoſitions, and the *Government*, the firſt *Commonwealth Rebels*, as well *Temporal*, as *Eccleſiaſtick*, of theſe later *Ages*. Nevertheleſs had our *King* been in any meaſure ſo ſollicitous to apprehend, or diſturb him, and his *Fellows*, as they would hold the World in hand, it might have been eaſily done. 'Tis own'd how much *Geneva* ſuſpected their Power of Protection, if demanded, *p.* 104. and tho' Mr. *Humelius* one of the *Bern Miniſters*, (who with the *Engliſh Tongue*, had got the *Fanatick Taint*) engag'd ſome in the *Government* to ſtand their *Friends*; yet had our *King*, aſſiſted by his *Brother* of *France*'s *Recommendation*, preſs'd earneſtly to have them deliver'd up to *Juſtice*, 'tis probable they would have given them notice to ſlip away, the utmoſt kindneſs they could have ſhown: *Out-Laws*, and that for *King-killing* may find ſome *private*, but no *publick Abettors*, and whatever *Government* doth ſo, ought to be adjudg'd

a *Common Enemy* by all *Monarchs* in the World.

SECT. II.

MY next Province is to give the true *Character* of thoſe *Execrable Regicides* whom *Ludlow*, and his *Publiſhers*, endeavour with ſo much art and daubing otherwiſe to repreſent; for the little account they give of the *Revolution* doth not concern me, and is withall ſo mean and trivial, ſo deeply ting'd with the *partiality* and *prejudice* of a violent *Faction*, as it looks more like an *Invective* than *Hiſtory*, taking every occaſion to laſh at thoſe of his old *Acquaintance*, who not having ſo deeply engag'd, were not oblig'd ſo curſedly to perſevere; and inveighs againſt the *King* and *Court*, as if ſtill on th'other ſide the Water; tho' it appear'd otherwiſe from his own Confeſſion, for *finding how unſafe it was to ſtay longer in* England, he ſcamper'd away as well as he could, and much applauds his own Conduct in the *retreat*, paſs'd *incognito* through *France*, and arriv'd at that grand *Sanctuary* of *Sedition* and *Schiſm*, *Geneva*; where *his firſt Letters from*

from home inform'd him, how ten of his Brother Regicides being accus'd of having in their ſeveral Stations contributed to the Death of the King, had been Condemned, and Executed, p. 59.

The *Reflections* he makes as to the *Tryals being put off, till the new Sheriffs came on,* is meer cavil, for had *Love* the *old Sheriff*, been never ſo factious and obſtinate, and return'd a *Jury* all of the ſame *Kidney*, the *Matter of Fact* was ſo apparent, and foul, as they muſt have found them guilty, or come under the ſame *Præmunire:* But ſo great a concern as that, neceſſarily required an extraordinary *Commiſſion*, and the many weighty affairs upon reſetling a *Nation* ſo long in ſuch a *Chaos* of *Confuſion*, would not permit their *Tryals* to come on ſooner, perhaps not ſo ſoon, but for the approaching *Term.*

He continues to carry on his Cavils againſt the *Commiſſioners*, at ſome becauſe they had been engag'd in the *Rebellion* with them, at others becauſe they adher'd to the *King* againſt it, ſo that 'tis not poſſible to pleaſe them unleſs permitted to judge in their own *Cauſe*, or have it *poſt-pon'd*, as the *Welſhman* deſir'd, *till the laſt Day*, whereas upon the whole, there was never known a *Com-*

miſſion of more able underſtanding Perſons, both for *Law* and *Parts*, than ſat upon that ſad occaſion, nor any *Tryal* manag'd with more *temper*, *patience*, and all other kinds of fair carriage towards the *Priſoners*, as the worthy Sir *William Wyld* then *Recorder* of *London* told them, *they forgat their barbarouſneſs to the good King, they would not hear him, nor his juſt Allegations*, who ſhuffled now with all the dilatory impertinencies imaginable, and the *Court* with an unwearied compliance let them go on: And for this *Author*, or rather his *Friends*, to publiſh the quite contrary nigh Forty Years after, is the heighth of baſeneſs, and by way of *Penance*, might I preſcribe it, they ſhould be oblig'd to *Reprint*, for 'tis very ſcarce, The *Tryal of the Regicides*, that the *Truth*, the whole *Truth*, and nothing but the *Truth* may appear, and moreover all the *Party* oblig'd to read it too, which I fanſie would be very uneaſie, the *Alchoran* would down with them ten times better. Yet this muſt be own'd, *Ludlow* had certainly read thoſe *Tryals*, for the account he gives of his *Friends*, what they ſaid by way of *Defence*, or *Extenuation*, is taken almoſt verbatim from thence, without the leaſt notice of what was *Rejoin'd* upon them, either by *Court*

or

or *Councel*, as to matter of *Fact*, or *Law*. Is ſuch a man fit to write an *Hiſtory*? inform *Poſterity* of the truth of things? or his *Publiſhers* men of *Reputation* and *Integrity*, to impoſe ſuch things upon the World?

The firſt he gives us an account of in this *Martyrology of Hell* is his friend *Harriſon*; concerning whom, becauſe nothing is mention'd of his *Parentage*, and *Education*, as he conſtantly doth, when worth taking notice of; the World may know he was a *Butcher*'s Son of *Newcaſtle Underline Staffordſhire*, plac'd *Clerk* to an *Attorny* in *Clifford*'s-*Inn*, and when out of his time became a kind of *Pettifogger* in that way of Practice, and was infamous enough for it, which might occaſion him, when the War brake out, to exchange his *Pen* for the *Sword*; yet in this neither did he make any conſiderable advance till the *Self-denying Ordinance* open'd the way for ſuch *Mechanick Reformers*, when likewiſe, tho' perhaps ſtout enough, he was more beholding to his *Confidence*, than *Courage*, for having a Tongue well hung, the effect of his *pettifogging Profeſſion*, by his *Enthuſiaſtical Preaching*, and great pretences to *Piety*, he became admir'd by the *Army*, and advanc'd by *Cromwell* to a *Major-General*; being

being one of his chiefeſt *Confidents*, and accordingly made uſe of by him, to break the *Presbyterian Junto*, convey the *King* from *Hurſt-Caſtle* to St. *James*'s, in order to his *Murder*, wherein he acted according to his *deſcent*, with more than a *Butcher's Cruelty*. This is *Ludlow*'s *Hero*, *who when brought to the Bar*, *did not ſneak like Sir* Hardreſs Waller, *but pleaded Not Guilty*, *and juſtify'd the Sentence paſs'd upon the King*, *and the Authority of thoſe who had Commiſſion'd him to act as one of his Judges*, p. 61. and ſo continues his *Cants*, and *Flouriſhes*, impudently owning what he ſaw evidently prov'd, alledging *that it was done by Authority of Parliament*, *and could not be queſtion'd in any inferiour Court*, *which being a point of Law*, *he deſir'd Councel might be aſſign'd on that head*, *but the Court over-rul'd it.* Thus far *Ludlow*, as to their *Pleadings*, and no further mentioning (according to his baſe partiality already obſerv'd) what the *Court* ſo fully reply'd to every branch of their *Allegations*, both as to the reaſon of the thing, and matter of *Law*. Now ſince this weak, and ſlender *thred*, was the ſole ſtrength the whole Set of *Regicides* had to hang upon, till they came to the *Rope*, I ſhall here once for all give an account of what the *Court* reply'd to

that

that Subterfuge of theirs, ſo full and clear, that had the *Publiſhers* conſulted the reputation of their *Party*, they would never have given occaſion of its coming afreſh under debate.

To that requeſt of having *Councel* aſſign'd to juſtifie the *Authority* by which they acted, 'twas thought a piece of new *Treaſon* to demand it, for that their pretended *Parliament* was ſo far from being ſo, that it conſiſted not of more than the *eighth* part of a *Houſe of Commons*, pack'd together by thoſe very Perſons now arraign'd, the better to gloſs over, and carry on their *Traiterous* Deſigns: Upon which account it was further declar'd, *That the King and Lords cannot do any thing without the Commons; nor the King and Commons without the Lords; nor Lords and Commons without the King; and for the Priſoner to excuſe, nay, juſtifie himſelf, upon pretence of being impowered, by one houſe, nay the eighth part of an houſe, to condemn their King, whom no Authority upon earth can call in Queſtion, and without whom both Houſes together cannot take away the meaneſt Subjects Life, deſerves not only reproof but Sentence, without going any further.* This *Point* of *Law* *Ludlow* takes no notice of, altho' it's a moſt reaſonable return to every one of their *Pleas*,

Tryal, P. 51.

Pleas, for they all harp'd upon the ſame ſtring. The *Military* men, no *Members*, would have been excus'd, for that, according to their Profeſſion, *Superiors Orders* were to be obey'd without diſpute; as indeed they were fairly bringing the whole Nation to *Military-Law*. Such as were *Members* inſiſted upon looking back to the *Declarations* and *Remonſtrances*, from 41 forward, which was indeed a juſt, tho' ſpiteful *Reflection* upon the *Preſbyterian Party* for *Unkinging* his *Majeſty*, but could not in the leaſt juſtifie their *Unheading* him, and the others not going along with them ſo far, thought it might extenuate their going ſo far as they did, tho' doubtleſs it was *Rebellion* from the beginning, however in thoſe *Healing times*, as the term went, they were rather for *skinning*, than *ſearching* the *Wound* too far, whereby notwithſtanding the *Cure* was never the better; to be ſure their *Plea* was altogether frivolous, and as the *Court* told *Carew*, *tended not only to juſtifie the action, but to caſt a ball of Diviſion among thoſe that were preſent*; and further added to *Scot*, *That to expatiate in the manner he was going, tended to making a New Government, (which is the higheſt Treaſon next to Murdering the King in the World) ſubvert*

vert the Laws, and affirm a few of the Commons, nay, if they had been whole, the Legiſlative Power of the Kingdom. Tryals, P. 91.

Another general *Obſervation* to be made, becauſe in common to them all, is the *Principle* upon which they acted, the *Light within them*, the curſed *Enthuſiaſm of their Rebel hearts*; So *Harriſon* declar'd, *he followed not his own judgment, what he did, he did as out of Conſcience to the Lord, from whence he received rather aſſurances than otherwiſe.* Try. p. 50. And *Carew* likewiſe, *what he did was in the fear of the Lord, and Obedience to his holy and Righteous Law.* And ſo moſt of the reſt went on in the ſame *Cant*, whereby all the *Laws of God*, and *Man*, muſt be ſuperſeded, as Sir *O. B.* told them, *to their obdurate hard'ned hearts, and ſeared Conſciences.*

To begin with the *Laws* of the *Land*, they being ſo directly contrary to this Bloody unprecedented Fact, there was a never heard of way of *Proceſs* found out, in the name of the People, for which they were beholding to *Parſons* the *Jeſuit*'s peſtilent *Diſcourſe of the Succeſſion of the Crown*, penn'd to ſtir up *Sedition* in *Queen* Elizabeth's *time*, or at her *death* to prevent *King* James's quiet Eſtabliſhment in the *Throne*; But failing then it

ſerv'd

ſerv'd the turn of theſe *Jeſuited Fanaticks* moſt curſedly, and to that purpoſe was Reprinted in 48. with a different *Title*, but otherwiſe very little difference, and gave the Subject Matter to that Impudent *Charge* againſt the *King*, with *Bradſhaw*'s as inſolent Enlargements, and *Replies*, to his moſt *Reaſonable and Legal Allegations*. 'Tis nevertheleſs probable the whole *Pack* of *Bloodhounds* knew not from whence the notions were taken, and who firſt ſtarted them, but ſuch only as laid the Deſign, and loo'd on the reſt; Nay, ſome thought that *Bradſhaw* and *Cook*, tho' they only appear'd upon the Stage, as to the *Law Pageantry*, yet were no more than *Properties* to *Ol. St. Johns*, who ſtood behind the *Curtain*, and was chief *Aſſiſtant* to Couſin *Cromwell* in all that curſed contrivance. To be ſure this *Trial* once ſet in motion, all the foremention'd *Curs* took the *ſcent*, and ran away with it moſt furiouſly, and 'tis probable ſome of them thought they *did God and the Nation as good Service* as the *Scribes and Phariſees when they Crucify'd our Saviour*. Thus *Carew* excepted againſt that Form of the *Inditement*, which ſaid, *he had not the fear of God before his Eyes, but was mov'd by the Devil, with a Traiterous malitious heart*, &c. *whereas he could ſay*

in

in the preſence of the Lord it was done in his fear, &c. and *Harriſon Cants* moſt profoundly of *his feeling the Terrors of the preſence of the Lord, that was with his Servant in thoſe days, (and however it ſeem'd good to him to ſuffer this turn at preſent) he believ'd e're long it would be made known from heaven, there was more of God in it than men were aware of.* At which *blaſphemous* rate, all the reſt, more or leſs, went on, to charge *heaven* with their infernal Deeds; ſo that ſince that of the *Jews*, there is no *Record* extant of ſuch a *Body of Men* ſo *Helliſhly* poſſeſs'd; which I ſhall have occaſion further on to take notice of more particularly. P. 75. P. 50.

There is one thing more I preſume it may not be improper to acquaint the *Reader*, among the former *Informations*; that however the *Government* took care, that their *Tryals* ſhould be taken in *ſhort hand*, and faithfully *Printed*; no ſuch thing was done at their *Execution*, perhaps ſcarce thought poſſible for the *Throng*; or otherwiſe that ſo much impertinent babble, and *Spiritual Nonſence*, nay many times *Blaſphemy*, was not to be taken notice of, ſince the laſt time they would trouble the World in that kind. This defect the *Brotherhood* ſupply'd by Printing *The Speeches and Prayers of ſome of*

the

the late King's Judges, viz. &c. *together with ſeveral Occaſional Speeches and Paſſages in their Impriſonment*, &c. and altho' they aſſure the *Reader* of great Veracity in the whole performance, yet many times in relating what they *Spake*, or *Pray'd*, 'tis uſher'd in with that common *Salvo, to this effect*; and whoever will have patience to read over what is there related of, or by them, cannot imagine how any one, unleſs truly *Inſpir'd*, not a *Fanatick Pretender*, whoſe *Memories* generally are as weak as their *judgments*, ſhould carry off, ſuch abominable *Preſumptions*, and *Religious Deluſions*, wherewith every one of them, according to that account, were undoubtedly poſſeſs'd; None of the *Primitive Martyrs* left the World with ſo much *Aſſurance*, and *Self-juſtification* as theſe *Wretches*; they doubted no more of *Heaven*, than the *Executioner* of their *Cloaths*, tho' they had as little reaſon to hope for it as *Judas*, dying with leſs *Remorſe*, and *Recognitions* of their abominable Impieties; never conſidering what others take for *ſound Doctrine, that tho' their Conſciences accus'd them not, yet were they not thereby Juſtify'd, ſince there is one greater than their Conſciences, and knoweth all things*; but what hath been in all Ages obſerv'd as

to

to the ill management of *Temporal Affairs*, may be here apply'd in a *ſpiritual ſence*, *Quos vult perdere Deus, prius dementat.*

This *Fanatick Legend* of the *Regicides*, with the forementionʼd *Tryals*, one of which proves them the moſt impudent *Traytors* ever *ſubverted Government*; the other the moſt deſperate *Enthuſiaſts* ever abusʼd *Religion*, are ſo cullʼd and falſifyʼd by this our *Author*, as to perſwade the World they were true *Patriots*, and great *Saints*; with how little reaſon I ſhall make appear by a particular Survey of his *Characters*; and with the greater *Brevity*, becauſe theſe general *Remarks*, have gone very far therein.

To return therefore to *Harriſon*, from whom we digreſsʼd, who, as our *Author* tells us, *juſtifyʼd the Sentence paſsʼd upon the King, and the Authority of thoſe who had Commiſſionʼd him to act*, &c. the *Court* might have orderʼd an haſty *Verdict*, and pronouncʼd as quick a *Sentence*, as he falſely ſuggeſts; but they with unaccountable temper attended all his inſolent *Evaſions*, and impudent *Demands* of *Councel*, &c. and would he have attended to any thing of *Law* or *Reaſon*, muſt have been ſatisfyʼd with their *Over-ruling* his Demands. He trifled as much as con-

tains between 3 and 4 Pages in a large *Quarto* of their *Tryals*, before he would plead *Guilty*, *or Not Guilty*, till finding he would be entred *Mute*, the ſame with *Judgment*, he cry'd, *Not Guilty*: and for how he would be try'd it muſt be according to *the Law of the Lord*, that of *God and his Country* being, as he ſaid, *vain words*, which nevertheleſs he was forc'd to come to; which was the more *fooliſh*, and *humorſome* in him, for that being brought up in the *Law*, he could not but underſtand, that way of procedure to be a neceſſary *Form*, and not to be diſpenc'd with. Neither can I take it for any thing more than a *Fanatick Story*, that is a *Lye*, when he tells us the *Executioner was in a more than ordinary Dreſs, or Place, than uſually aſſign'd him in Court*, where he is an *Attendant* in *Courſe*, and by *Office*. And if he declar'd going out of the Court after *Sentence* pronounc'd, *that he had no reaſon to be aſham'd of the Cauſe engag'd in*, it was the greater *ſhame* for him, and had he met with that *barbarous uſage*, the *Royal* Party is ſo falſely charg'd to have ſhown him, it would have been but a juſt return. With like rude and groundleſs *Reflections*, he proceeds to the place of *Execution*, *where* Chairing-Croſs *formerly ſtood, that the King might*

have

have the pleaſure of the Spectacle, and inure himſelf to Blood, p. 69. And was there no other reaſon to be given? Yes ſurely, not ſo much that the *Court* might look towards them, as they toward the *Banquetting-Houſe*, out of which they led their *Sovereign* to the *Slaughter*. And for *the King's inuring himſelf to Blood*; the *Fanaticks* had great reaſon to complain, who hazarded his *Life*, and ſhock'd his *Monarchy*, by that fond impoſſibility of obliging them. For his *Execution*, and *Declaration* before it, 'twas according to his *Life*, deſperate *Enthuſiaſm*, abuſing *Almighty God* more by his *Preſumptions*, than had he abſolutely *defy'd him*. And here I had left this deſperate Wretch, but for one Paſſage which I am ſure *Ludlow* did not like, and 'tis probable his *friends* will be as little pleas'd with; in the fore-mention'd *Fanatick Legend*, which begins with this *Brother*, we are told the *Sheriff ſent three Divines to diſcourſe him upon ſeveral heads*, whereof one was *the breaking the Old Parliament*; to which he reply'd, *That was the Act and Deſign of* Cromwell, *he knowing nothing of it, till call'd by him to go along as an Aſſiſtant that Morning it was done*: Yet afterward, ſaith he, *I was glad of it, as ſeeing they did intend to perpetuate themſelves, with-* P. 3.

out doing thoſe deſirable things which were expected and longed for by the Lord's people; and if the Lord's people were not ſatisfy'd with them, I am ſure all others were much leſs; and yet we have a new *Club* of *Politico*'s ſo much made up of contradiction, as to applaud thoſe contemptible *Villains*.

The next was Mr. *John Carew*, a *Gentleman of an Ancient Family*, ſaith *Ludlow*, and that *Family* not a little aſham'd, ſay others, he ſhould ſo baſely degenerate. 'Tis further ſaid he was *brought up to the Law*, altho' at his *Arraignment* he ſhew little Skill therein, for that he would *ſave to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his Right to the Government of theſe Kingdoms, before he would plead Not Guilty*; I preſume he had *Enroll'd* himſelf among the *Fifth Monarchy* Gang, an unreaſonable ſet of Men, who might have liberty to expect *Chriſt's coming* as long as they pleaſe, provided they would Submit to the preſent *Government* in the mean while, but till then they will be *Govern'd* by none but themſelves, and of all Mankind none are ſo far from *Chriſt*'s way of Governing. How juſtly the *Court* ſtopt his impertinent Excurſions is already mention'd; and 'tis like our *Author* to tell us what this *Priſoner* reply'd upon

Mr.

Mr. *Arthur Anneſly*'s particularly chargeing him with the *Excluſion of the Members in* 48. *That it was ſtrange to find a Judge upon the Bench, give Evidence as a Witneſs in the Court*; this, I ſay, *Ludlow terms an irregular Proceeding, unbecoming a Court of Judicature*, and all the while ſtifles what the *Lord Chief Baron Reply'd*, *You are miſtaken, it is no Evidence, but ſhews you what Authority that was, an Authority of Forty ſix Members, how is this Evidence?* a *Judge* ſure may expoſtulate from his own Knowledge about any particular, fully prov'd before, as this whole Charge was. Yet at the ſame rate is the Cavil carried on, every thing caught at which may ſerve a turn, tho' nothing mention'd to clear a Truth: Nay, ſometimes he certainly obtrudes real *fictions* of his own; for I no where find *that their Enemies confeſs'd, or commended, their* Harriſon's, *and* Carew's *ſteddineſs of Mind, and contempt of Death*; but that their Friends took care they ſhould go off with a reſolute *Obdurateneſs*, take this following Paſſage; Some few days after *Carew* Suffer'd, I met a Perſon who had been employ'd by his Nephew to get a parcel of Papers out of his hands, which related to an Entail'd Eſtate, and ſo not forfeited by his *Treaſon*; which

tho' he had attended ſeveral times, (as careleſs as his Friends ſay he was of Life,) could not be obtain'd till the laſt hour, which argued he had ſome hopes. During this ſtay, the *Gentleman* ſaid a Fellow came to him, he preſum'd an *Apothecary*, and taking a Glaſs out of his Pocket, poured it into a Beaker and gave it him with this *Grace*, *The Lord ſtrengthen you*; and it produc'd the deſign'd effect, for whereas he look'd *wan*, and *trembled* before, this made him *fluſh*, and *ſweat*, with an anſwerable alteration in his *Diſcourſe*, and *Carriage*; and this might occaſion what he ſaid at the end of his *Prayer* upon the *Ladder*, *I am ſo exceeding Dry, that my Tongue is ready to ſtick to my Mouth, but I would fain ſpeak a little more.* 'Twas then diſcours'd that moſt of them took ſuch *intoxicating Doſes*, to be ſure *Peters* had ſo large a *Potion*, that he was ſtupidly *drunk*, which made *Cook* who ſuffer'd at the ſame time, ſay he *fear'd him not fit to Suffer then.*

Speech, p. 22.

Adrian Scroop is the next with our *Author*, tho' in the courſe of their *Executions* there were three or four before him, and ſeems mention'd on purpoſe to inveigh againſt Sir *Richard Brown*, whom he falſly affirms to be the principal *Witneſs*, his *Evidence* was only *Collateral*, there

there were others who prov'd both his Sitting and Signing ſo fully as he own'd all himſelf, and indeed there were none of them, had anv thing of the Port and Language of a *Gentleman* but he, both at *Tryal*, and *Execution*, for he always addreſs'd himſelf to the *Court* with due reſpect, and civilly acquieſc'd in the Reaſons they gave for *Over-ruling* his *Pleas*; what impudence then is it for *Ludlow* to affirm, *That the Jury taking every thing ſaid againſt the perſon accus'd for ſubſtantial Proof, made no ſcruple of bringing him in Guilty of Treaſon?* p. 66. whereas the Proofs againſt him were as full as any of the reſt; yet I will not deny but he might have eſcap'd with Life, had not Sir *Richard*'s Teſtimony interpos'd, tho' his own folly as well as baſeneſs muſt bear the blame, for expreſſing to a Stranger the no *remorſe* he had of ſo *horrid a Crime*, which Sir *Richard* as a *Member*, was bound in *Honour* and *Conſcience* to declare to the *Houſe*, when his *Caſe* came to be conſider'd. *Almighty God*, as already hinted, Pardons none but upon *Repentance*; and can *King* or *Parliament* follow a better *Precedent?*

Tho. Scot follows, more eſpecially valu'd by our *Author* and his *Friends*, becauſe ſo impudent as to deſire it might

be written upon his *Tomb*, *Here lies* Tho. Scot, *who adjudg'd the late King to die*; But he lies without one, and may all of the ſame Mind, die, and lie as he did; yet even this being ſpoken in *Parliament*, *ought not to be brought in Evidence*, as is confidently averr'd here, without the leaſt notice of what Sir *O. B.* declar'd, *There could be no Privilege of Parliament for Treaſon, nor Felony neither*, which that
Try. p. 88. *Learned Lawyer* made ſeveral times fully out. What he urg'd likewiſe of the *Convention* which then was, and the *Secluded Members*, was altogether as frivolous; that *Long Parliament* had been ſo *perpetuated*, as none but themſelves could make a *Diſſolution*, (God keep us from ſuch another) which the *Secluded Members* came in to do as Mr. *Anneſly* told him: and the *Convention* they ſummon'd was not ſo Regular, but the next *Parliament* confirm'd all they had *Enacted*; and could theſe Fellows who had put the whole *Government* out of *courſe*, think it could ever be brought into *Order*, but by ſtepping back through thoſe many *Irregularities* they had continually heap'd together? What he ſaith of his being a *Recruiter*, ſpeaks little of *Reputation*, that ſort of *Cattle* breaking thorough in an odd manner; and leſs of his *Policy* to tell us how

he

he was fool'd by *Monk* : and how well he was reſpected throughout the *Kingdom*, none could better expreſs than himſelf, who in a *Speech* he made to prevent the *Diſſolution* of that fatal long *Parliament*, and finding it ineffectual, concluded thus, *Being your pleaſure to have it ſo,* Try. p. 87. *I know not how to hinder it, but when done I know not where to hide this hated head of mine.* And, indeed, it was the caſe of them all.

John Jones, and *Gregory Clement*, *ſeeing what the others had ſaid was to little purpoſe, confeſs'd the Fact, and were declar'd Guilty*, ſaith our *Author*, but is miſtaken here too, whether wilfully, or otherwiſe, let his Friends reſolve; to be ſure *Jones* Pleaded, confeſſing he ſat ſome days, but did not malitiouſly contrive the *King's Death*; whereas his *hand* and *ſeal* being prov'd to the *Warrant* for *Execution*, he then cry'd *Peccavi*, and put himſelf upon the *Lord, and that Honourable Court*, which not having the deſired effect of *Life* ; at their *Executions* they both *Recanted* their pleading *Guilty*, or *begging Pardon*, and ſo went off; an exact teſtimony of *Fanatick Sincerity*. What he ſaith further of *Jones* being *a Gentleman, of a competent Eſtate, and conſiderable Service for the Publick Cauſe*, ſtands thus:

His

His firſt entrance into the World, if common report may be credited, was as Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s Man, for that I find his Appellation in all the Prints of thoſe times: and 'tis further ſaid, that by his inducement Sir *Thomas* engag'd on the *Rebel ſide*; but his grand advance was by marrying *Cromwell*'s *Siſter*, who finding him withall a *Zealous Brother*, made up of *Faction*, *Sedition*, and *Inſolence*, countenanc'd him accordingly in all his Deſigns; for he was not only *Governor* of *Angleſy*, but *Controller-General* of all the Honeſt *Gentlemen* in *North-Wales*. Afterwards he was remov'd into *Ireland*, where he behav'd himſelf as *Servants* uſe to do when got into *Dominion*, with a moſt *Tyrannical Arbitrarineſs*, no leſs *moroſe*, and *ſevere* than *Ludlow* himſelf, who otherwiſe would not have commended, a *Relation*, and *Creature* of *Cromwell*'s.

And becauſe he tells us of *Gregory Clement*'s being a *Merchant*, I ſhall relate this Paſſage, and then let the World judge of his *integrity*, *honeſty*, how unfit for a *Publick*, who behav'd himſelf ſo unworthily in a *Private* truſt. He was Apprentice to one Mr. *Hukely* a *Spaniſh Merchant*, who, when his time was out, adviſ'd him to try his *Fortune* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and

and for his incouragement lent him 500 *l.* upon his ſingle *Bond*; perhaps he might have ſomething more of his own, but that was ſaid to be his principal *Fund*, which he ſo well manag'd, as to return about the beginning of our *Troubles* with an Advance of 8 or 9000 *l.* which made him, not only conſiderable upon the *Exchange*, but a *Recruiter* at *Weſtminſter*, when moſt honeſt men were gone, or forc'd away. At what time his *Maſter* dy'd I omitted to enquire, but leaving only two *Daughters*, the *Gentleman* who married the *Eldeſt* engag'd on the *King*'s ſide, and ſo could not come to *London* till the War was over, then he addreſſed himſelf to *Clement*, and hop'd he would not demurr to pay ſo juſt and fortunate a *Debt*, which notwithſtanding he did continually Shuffle, and put him off, and that with ſo much inſolence, as once upon the *Exchange* to bid him *Kiſs his B——*. When the caſe was ſo alter'd, as this *Merchant* came to lie in the *Dungeon* at *Newgate* in order to his *Execution*, the *Gentleman* apply'd himſelf to him there, where he found him at the Common *Cant* of all the *Crew*, that he had made his *Peace with God*, and the World, and deſir'd he would not diſturb him with any *temporal* concerns, he told him how little true

Peace

Peace could be expected with *God*, when ſo unjuſt to Man, with much more to the like, tho' very little, purpoſe, for the obſtinate Wretch perſever'd in his vain Preſumptions, and even at the Gallows declar'd what great *Aſſurances* he had, tho' the *Gentleman*, mounted among the *Guard*, told him there of his unjuſt *dealing*, which he car'd not to take notice of, and ſo *went off*, an horrid inſtance of *Fanatick Deluſion*.

Mr. *John Cook* takes the next turn, his *Dear Friend*, and fellow *Governor* in *Ireland*, where he was *Lord Chief Juſtice*, and otherwiſe had a great influence upon *Civil Affairs*; yet I do not find he was ſo ſqueamiſh as our *Author*, but continu'd in his *Poſt* under *Cromwell*. What he ſaith of his Parts, and Gentile *Education* ſhall be acknowledg'd true; yet could they not advance him in practice, ſo as to keep him out of ſome *Neceſſities* which ſat uneaſie upon him; and this, not only his *Acquaintance* thought put him upon that fatal *Employ* of *Sollicitor* to that pretended *High Court of Juſtice*, but he owns here at his Tryal, 'twas *Avaritiâ non Malitiâ*, what he ſpake was for his Fee, and that he hop'd the *Jury* would take into Conſideration, whereto both the *Sollicitor-General* and *Lord Chief Baron* reply'd,

reply'd, that as no man can have a *Lawful Calling* to *purſue the Life of his King, ſo for a private Perſon, tho' he only intends to beat a man, yet if he dies thereupon, in Law 'tis Murder:* and the like Replies were made to the many other *Allegations Cook* very ingeniouſly urg'd in his *Defence*, with ſo much *Candor*, and *Reſpect*, as well as *Law* and *Reaſon*, that it would be moſt unpardonable in any body but our *Author*, who makes it his conſtant practice, to give ſo partial a relation, as to ſet forth the *three Articles his Inditement was reduc'd to*, with a brief account of *Cook*'s Plea, without the leaſt Syllable of what both *Council* and *Court* reply'd in anſwer to every particular, ſo full and ſatisfactory, and yet withall ſo fair and eaſie, as I never read any thing of that kind more diverting; Indeed, all the *Gentlemen* of the *Long Robe*, knowing the *Priſoner* to be a man of *Parts*, and for ſeveral years vers'd in *Buſineſs*, ſeem'd to exert themſelves above their Performances at other *Tryals*, and let him ſee the moſt artfull *flouriſhes*, could not palliate ſo foul an *Act*, or he alledge any thing by way of Extenuation, they were not able to render frivolous, and falſe, with one ſingle breath; ſo that after the greateſt Liberty ever vouchſafed any

Perſon

Perſon in thoſe Circumſtances, he was forc'd to acknowledge *their Patience in hearing him, and that their Lordſhips had juſtly ſtated both the Councils Proofs, and his Anſwers, if they laid aſide thoſe Acts, Orders, or Authorities, whereby he did at that time Conſcientiouſly act, and thought to be born out*, &c. And being told that aggravated the matter ſo as to *Warrant* the *Authority*, he deſir'd not to be miſtaken, *meaning only in point of High Treaſon*, ſo that it ſeems he would have gladly come off with a *Miſdemeanor*, *Miſpriſion*, or ſomething of that kind, to have ſecur'd his *Life*: Which failing, at his *Execution* he acted the proper part of the *Party*, would be telling *what a Glorious work the Lord had accompliſh'd upon his Spirit*, which was *to aſſure him he need not repent of any thing he had done, but own it as the cauſe of God, and Chriſt*, &c. In ſhort, none of the Pack went off more deeply plung'd in *Enthuſiaſm*, the *furies* and *follies* of *Fanatick Deluſion*.

Tryals, p. 150.

Speeches, p. 29.

This *Lawyer* was accompany'd with a *Divine*, of their *Congregational way*, the moſt impudent *Buffoon* that ever reproach'd any *Profeſſion*, *Sacred*, or *other*, *Hugh Peters*, upon whom it was prov'd that he had made it his conſtant buſineſs to *Blaſpheme God and the King in his Pulpit*

Pulpit Scurrilities, during the Pageantry of that horrid Tryal; and otherwiſe became ſo vile a Property to their many *dark* and *bloody* Deſigns, as one would think the *Devil* had Commiſſion'd him to be his *Repreſentative*, in acting that diſmall *Tragedy*: yet being now to make his *Plea*, that *Infernal Fiend* had ſo far left him deſtitute of that *briskneſs of Wit*, and *preſence of Mind*, at other times his only talent, as he could ſcarce reply to any one particular *Allegation*, but declar'd in general that all was falſe, with ſo *ſenceleſs* a *Stupidity*, as to become the object of their *Pity*, who moſt abhorr'd his abominable *Practices*.

In the ſame manner he went off at his *Execution*, where he was ſo far from being animated with courage, as our *Author* affirms, that *Cook* himſelf could obſerve, *Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid that he is not fit to die at this time*, &c. altho' he had endeavour'd to put what courage he could into him, for they tell us he ſaid, *Come, Brother* Peters, *let us knock at Heaven gate this Morning, God will open the Doors of Eternity to us before Twelve of the Clock*, &c. but *Peters* who had acted a *Part* too long, could not bear up in this laſt diſmall *Scene*, no *intoxicating Draught*, whereof 'tis ſaid he had

Paſſages, *and* Speeches, *p.* 27.

had taken very largely, could ſilence the *Terrors* of ſo great a *Guilt* ; tho' it had been the whole courſe of his life to *fool* others, he could not now *fool* himſelf.

'Tis likewiſe an egregious falſhood in the account *Ludlow* gives of his *Life*, That he had been a *Miniſter in* England *for many years, till forc'd away by Archbiſhop* Laud's *Superſtitions*, &c. he was never in our *Church*, but ſometime at *Cambridge*, where he was ſo *Inſolent*, and *Leud*, as to be *Whipt* in the *Regent's Walk*, (a Puniſhment ſcarce ever inflicted upon any ſince, nor perhaps as long time before) the moſt Publick place in that *Univerſity*, and ſo Expell'd for ever. Now as this *affront*, according to his *Eſtimation*, always rankled in his *envenom'd Mind*, ſo it rendred him very acceptable to the *Godly Party*, as they term'd themſelves, who very much delighted in his *Sarcaſtical Libels* againſt our *Government* both *Eccleſiaſtical*, and *Civil:* Nevertheleſs fearing to come under a ſecond *Laſh*, he kept himſelf abroad, in *Holland* ſometime, but moſtly in *New England*; till the *Independents*, deſigning to undermine *Presbytery*, ſent for him, who came accompany'd with ſeveral young *Diſciples* of his own *Tutoring*, ſo managing the *Army* by his *Cant* and *Buffoonry*, as he

he became *Cromwell*'s *Zane*, ſo neceſſary a *tool*, as the work could not have gone on without him, for he acted ſeveral Parts beſides that of *Chaplain*, ſometimes *Col.* ſometimes *Agitator*, and whatever elſe would advance his *Patron*'s Deſigns and our Confuſions, and therefore 'tis much *Ludlow* took notice of him, being ſo much the *Uſurper*'s creature; but his deep engagements in the *Royal Blood*, expiated for his other failings on the *Commonwealth* ſide. I ſhall only add further, that upon the *Reſtauration*, he was diſcover'd by one of thoſe *Confidents* he brought out of *New England*, ſeiz'd upon in Bed with another *man's Wife*, which his Party indeed would have for the better concealment of himſelf, tho' they could not but know, how much his Spirit was addicted to the Fleſh.

Axtell and *Hacker* came next, who *Guarded* that confounded *Court*, and the *King* to it, ſet on the *Soldiers* to cry for *Juſtice*, &c. and for theſe Reaſons were charg'd with *compaſſing his, the King's Death: Axtell* made many long *Harangues* all to the ſame purpoſe, *That he was a Commiſſion Officer, and oblig'd to obey his Superior's Orders*, and ſo ran back to the ſeveral Generals, *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, and *Fairfax*, from whom he received his Com-

 miſſion,

miſſion, as they did theirs from *Lords and Commons*; altho' upon enquiry, all his *Orders* in this *Bloody* Scene were from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*: The Court ſuffering themſelves a long time to be teas'd with theſe *Tautologies*, in the end told him, That neither the *General*, *nor Lords and Commons* ought to be obey'd in any unjuſt thing, much leſs taking away the *Life of their King*; and this *Ludlow* ſtyles *their being neceſſitated to fly to their old Refuge of queſtioning the Authority by which he acted*, as if that were not firſt to be enquir'd into in all *Actions* both *perſonal* and *real*. What he further calls a *ſtrong unheard of Doctrine*, *That no Perſon*, *nor Community*, *nor People have any Coercive Power over the King*, is a continu'd Specimen of his *ſupercilious Arrogance*, and would he have mention'd the *Precedents* Sir *O. Bridgman* quoted, the *Aſſertion* would have appear'd much to the *purpoſe*, and the *Jury been juſtify'd in that they made no Difficulty of bringing him in Guilty*.

Hacker being preſent at the former's *Tryal*, ſaw how fruitleſs it would be to make the ſame *Allegations*, and he had no other, beſides he ſeem'd to be the dulleſt of them all in their common *knack* of *Canting*, for that he only read a *Speech*

at

at his *Execution* of ten or twelve Lines, and then desired *that* Axtell *would be both their mouths to God* in *Prayer*.

'Tis likewise false that the *Court being sensible of an injury done to* Hewlet *in finding him Guilty, for that it was made appear the Common Hangman cut off the King's Head, procur'd his Pardon* : for the *Lord Chief Baron* told the Jury, *That if they found him to be one of them in a Frock, tho' he did not the Fact, it was a clear testimony of his imagining and compassing the Death of the King*, and this was not only prov'd by several, but from his own *confession, That if he was to do it again, he would do it*. The *Pardon* therefore was the immediate effect of His *Majesty's* gracious *Clemency*, what effect it had I have not heard, 'tis probable no better than upon others. Tryal, p. 239.

Henry Marten and *Ludlow*, were two of as different *Tempers and Constitutions* as can be well suppos'd, the former a *witty debonair* Companion, who made *Drinking* and *Whoring* the delight of his *Soul*; the other of a *haughty morose* disposition, rigid and severe as a *Scotch Covenanter*; yet these two in the *House* always hunted in the same Couples, prosecuted the most desperate *Courses* which at any time came under debate, right-

down *Levellers*, nothing would ſerve them but a *Community* of *wealth* and *women*; wherein *Marten* muſt be own'd to have reaſon, for that having ſquandred away an *Eſtate* of ſeveral *Thouſand pounds per Annum*, beſides *Plunder*, and other *Gratuities*, wherewith theſe juſt *Repreſentatives* oblig'd each other, he could not think of a better way to ſupply his *Luxury*, than out of other men's *Stocks*; to which purpoſe he writ a *Book*, call'd *England's Troublers Troubled*, wherein all *Rich* men are declared *Enemies* to the *Mean*; *Lords and Gentry*, *Clergy and Lawyers*, muſt come into one Common *Fund*, whereof too, I preſume he intended to be *Treaſurer*, and then it could not fail to be well diſpos'd of. And that this might be reduc'd to Practice, in his own *County* of *Berks*, whoſe worthy *Repreſentative* he was, *he forbad the people to ſtand bare at a Seſſions in* 48, *or pay Homage and Fealty to their Lords: yet at the ſame time he Plundred them of their Horſes, Goods, Money*, &c. *under pretence of ſerving the State, and beat thoſe that defended their own*: In fine, there was not a more *Immoral*, *Profane* Wretch ever breath'd upon earth than this *Marten*, who nevertheleſs being a *Commonwealths-man*, and of as inveterate a ſpite againſt the *good*

Hiſt. of *Ind.*

King

King as this *Author*, he, who moſt undeſervedly eſcap'd with his Life, of a Dozen more, Try'd at the ſame time, muſt be ſingled out for two or three *maggotty Evaſions*, which nothing but a *Court* of unwearied temper would have born with; for he tells us *whereas others confeſs'd the Guilt, but not the Malice; he confeſs'd the Fact, but not the Guilt*; which was juſtifying the thing as all the former had done, in a more *Impudent Buffooning way*. This *Diſtinction* of his the *Lord Chief Baron* reply'd to very ſeriouſly, but the *Solicitor-General ridicul'd* it moſt deſervedly: neither was there any thing in what he further urg'd, *that all Facts were to be denominated from their Circumſtances*; was that a new *Notion?* or any ways applicable in his *Caſe?* whoſe were the moſt aggravating of any in the whole Pack. His addreſſing himſelf from the *Council* to the *Jury* ſtood him likewiſe in as little ſtead, *for his thinking that a Houſe of Commons, when he preſum'd the Court did not ſo*, which ſhould the *Jury* more incline to believe? an *Authority* of his own making, as the *Solicitor* briskly told them, or not rather condemn him for making that *Authority*; as they moſt juſtly did.

Tryal, *p.* 251.

In thoſe *Familiar Epiſtles* which this *Devoteé* of *Venus* writ to his *Lady of Pleaſure*, there is likewiſe a *Letter* in *Juſtification* of the *King's Murder*, penn'd it ſeems before he came in, and had it come out before his *Tryal*, we might have ſeen how witty he would have been upon the *Gallows*, for 'tis written in his uſual *buffooning* way, without any thing of *ſolid Argument*, or *real thought*, which our *Author* alone extols him for. All indifferent Judges tell us, he had addicted himſelf ſo much to a pleaſant humor of *Rallying*, as they queſtion'd whether he could have been ſerious, had he come to the *Execution* of his juſtly deſerved *Sentence*; 'tis great pity it was not try'd. And by what good luck he eſcap'd that end I am next to relate, the better to refell another groſs miſtake of our *Authors*, not to term it worſe, who poſitively tells us, *The Convention made no proviſion for the ſecuring his*, Marten's *Life*, *or the reſt decoy'd into a Surrender*, whereas they *paſs'd an* Act, *that however Condemn'd*, *Execution ſhould be ſuſpended till another Act of Parliament to that purpoſe*: Which accordingly was the firſt thing under Debate in that of 61. where the whole dozen were *Secur'd for Life*, even *Marten* too, tho' with greateſt difficulty, by reaſon

ſon of his inſolent Deportment at *Tryal*, but having ſome Relations of *Honor* and *Quality*, they were unwilling to have ſuch a blemiſh lie upon their *Family*, and found out this pleaſant *Stratagem* to prevent it; when *Marten* came to be conſider'd it was declar'd on all hands none more deſerv'd to die; whereupon a *Gentleman*, in the *Intrigue*, ſtood up and ſaid he was as much for hanging him as any other *Member*, only fear'd *having ſo rotten a Carcaſs, his Limbs would fall aſunder and diſappoint the Gallows*; which humor being ingeniouſly proſecuted, 'twas concluded in the end, he ſhould rot out the remainder of his *Life* in the *Gaol*. And accordingly he was ſent to the *Iſle of Wight*, *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, I preſume, with *Hevingham*; from thence brought back to *Windſor*, which was not a little regretted by many *Loyal Gentlemen*, that they ſhould have *Liberty* to walk over the *Corps* of that *Sovereign* they had Murder'd, and among them an Honeſt blunt *Scotch Knight* underſtanding they were remov'd for better Air, plainly told the *King*, they thought the *Iſle of Wight* Air good enough for his *Father*, *and the worſt Air in Hell was too good for ſuch Rogues as they*: Hereupon they were remov'd, *Marten* to *Chepſtow Caſtle* in *Mon-*

mouthſhire, where he lingred out his days with an ordinary Competency from ſome who had trick'd themſelves into his *Eſtate*, and other Friends, to the Year 80. the 78. of his *Age*, the longer doubtleſs for being debarr'd the profuſeneſs of his former *Epicuriſm*, yet all this without the leaſt improvement, under ſuch great alterations of condition, and ſevere checks of *Providence*; for if we may believe the *Epitaph* he made of himſelf a little before his *Death*, he went off with as little ſence of a future *State*, as he continu'd here in defiance of all *Virtue*, *Loyalty*, and *Religion*.

Athen. Oxo. Vol. 2. 495.

What our *Author* next falls upon of this kind is with more than ordinary regret, that a *Trium-virate* of his fellow *Out-Laws* were ſeiz'd upon in *Holland*, and from thence ſent home to receive the juſt Reward of their *Treaſons*, the firſt he empties his gall upon is Sir *George Downing*, who as the *King's Miniſter* there, laid the Scene ſo as to ſecure them, whoſe baſeneſs he aggravates by telling he had been *Okey's Chaplain, kindly entertain'd by him, and receiv'd many Obligations from him*; all which the Factions moſt virulently charg'd upon him from the beginning, and he as little regarded, for being by *Monk's* recommendation continu'd

tinu'd in the ſame imployments he had under *Cromwell*, for which he had then contracted an implacable enmity from all the *Rumpers*, he reſolv'd to be aforehand with them, by hanging as many as poſſible out of the way, who he was ſure if once more in Power, would do the like by him. For *Gratitude* he had convers'd too long among them, not to know how little it was regarded when Intereſt ſtood in competition; neither indeed can there be a greater abſurdity, than for any of that *leven* to recriminate thereupon, who ſo *treacherouſly* undermin'd each other in their ſeveral *Turns*; and altogether expreſs'd an *ingratitude* great as *Hell*, for their too general *Indemnity*.

He continues his charge againſt the barbarous part the *States* acted in this conjuncture, *who contrary to a Fundamental Maxim in their Government to receive and protect all*, &c. *contributed as much as in them lay to the deſtruction of theſe Gentlemen*; that they contributed any thing to the ſeizing of them is abſolutely falſe, but were much vex'd at it, tho' when done could not prevent it; Sir *George* had formerly attempted ſeveral ſuch *Straglers*, and the *States* had freely given him Orders to ſecure them; but withall took ſuch care that before he, or his *Meſſengers* came there, the *Birds*

were

were flown. This was the firſt time he outwitted them, and I dare ingage had he continu'd there Forty years it ſhould have been the laſt. However, I find this *Author* elſewhere affirming, that Intereſt is their darling *Maxim*, and there is none who know them, doubts it; ſeeing therefore ſo great a *Revolution* in *England*, the *Royal Family* reſtor'd, to which they had not been over kind from the beginning of their *Troubles*, and now entring into an *Alliance* with that *Crown*, it muſt really have broke all thoſe *Meaſures*, and violated the *Laws* of *Nations* to prohibit their *Tranſportation*, when ſeiz'd, yet many of their People were very mad for this; their *Governors* conſider'd better, that however they permit their *Country* to be a Common *Receptacle* for the *Refuſe* of all *Mankind*, yet that, in ſuch extraordinary Caſes, muſt be ſuperſeded to the juſt, and reaſonable Demands of their *Neighbours: Rebels* and *Out-laws* are *Beaſts* of *prey*, and when upon purſuit they eſcape out of one *Royalty*, the next ſhould take the *Alarm*, either hunt them away, or upon ſeizure deliver them up, neither can it be expected any *Prince* ſhould enter into an *Alliance* upon other terms; and when 'tis their own concern, none ſtand more poſitively upon it than the

Hollan-

Hollanders; to give an inſtance, when the *Seiur Kuivoit*, *Trump*'s Brother-in-Law, who upon *Buats* folly, *De Witt* diſcover'd to be againſt his *Faction*, as this *Author* relates, *p.* 194. but eſcap'd out of his clutches, into *England*, would upon the *Treaty* by no means be permitted to return into his own *Country*, but was forc'd to continue here ſeveral years, for ought I know till that grand turn which caus'd *De Witt's Maſſacre*. And perhaps our *Monarchy* hath ſuffer'd not a little for being leſs ſevere in ſuch Caſes.

The firſt our *Author* mentions of his three unhappy *Brethren* is *Miles Corbet*, a *Gentleman of an Ancient Family in* Norfolk, and ſo indeed he was, but proving a *wither'd Branch*, the *Old Stock* by degrees periſhed, and came to nothing. His *Nephew* Sir *Thomas* was a worthy *Loyal Gentleman*, kept this old *Dotard* from defiling himſelf with his *Sovereign's Blood* till the laſt day, for fear the *Entail* ſhould be cut off from his *Children*, according to his own confeſſion; but then the *Devil* with his own as *Helliſh Zeal*, ſpur'd him on both to Sit, and Sign: And 'tis probable upon this inducement, Sir *Tho.* parted with the *Seat* of his *Family*, which to my knowledge he did, and was very kind

kind to his *Siſters* with their *Deſcendents*. For his Deportment in *Ireland*, our *Author* is too partial to be credited, becauſe we have ſo odd an account of his carriage in the *Houſe of Commons*, where he was *Inquiſitor-General to the Committee of Examinations, having found an Expedient to Purge both Houſes of ſuch Members as the Army, or Independents diſlik'd, without letting them know either their Charge, or Accuſers*, which the *Hiſtory of Independency* terms a kind of *Hangman's Office, and that he look'd more like a Hangman, than the Hangman himſelf*; 'tis true likewiſe he was conſtantly call'd *Corbet* the *Jew*, much reſembling that *Nation* both in *Countenance*, and *Actions*.

Hiſt. of *Ind.* p. 36.

The next is *Barkſtead*, a *Citizen and Goldſmith in* London, ſaith our *Author*, as if he had been a *Banker* of Thouſands; whereas the *Workers* in that *Trade* are of as *dirty* and *laborious* a Profeſſion as *Country Blackſmiths*, and take as much Pains for a ſmall *Livelihood*: This fellow's chief Imploy was to make *Silver Thimbles*, whereby he might become endear'd to the *Siſterhood*, to be ſure he was Second to *Ven* in leading up the *Mob* to threaten, and force the *Parliament*, ay, and *King* too, when matters did not go after their humors; and thus ſetting forward

ward the War, when begun, he had his advance in it, where nevertheleſs he paſs'd for a very *ſhallow Mortal*, but continuing a *zealous* Pretender, and withall very officious to his Maſter *Cromwell*, he continu'd him a *Tool* upon all occaſions; as I remember made him one of his *Lords*; not ſo deſerved an *Advance*, as here at the *Gallows*.

The laſt is *Okey*, whom our *Author* will have a *Citizen* of *London* too, as if he had made ſome great figure there; whereas he was Modeſter, and declar'd, *He was the leaſt of the Families in* Iſrael, *and he the leaſt of that*. Firſt, he belong'd to a *Brew-houſe* as *Dray-man*; after that a poor *Chandler* near *Lyons-Key*; but betaking himſelf to the *Sword*, upon our *Civil* Diſtractions, he appear'd a man of *Sence*, and *Courage*, which cultivated by *Action* and *Experience*, rendred him one of the beſt *Officers* among them. That he was poſſeſs'd with the common *Cant* of the *Cauſe*, and wholly given over to their *Inſpiration*-Follies, and very zealous therein, cannot ſeem ſtrange, for that he never had any other Converſation; and the *Succeſs* God curs'd them and the *Nation* withall, was a corroborating Argument to their deluded Minds of a *Righteous Undertaking*: yet after all,

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no one of the whole *Party* carried himſelf ſo like a *Gentleman*, and a *Chriſtian* as this *Okey*; which not being for our Author's deſign to mention, I ſhall take notice of, from that very account the *Brotherhood* hath given of his final *Exit*, in theſe following inſtances. 1. As to the *Death* of the *King*, he declar'd himſelf to be none of the *Council* which ſat about it; knew nothing of the *Judges*, nor of his name being there till done; that he ſat but once or twice, pray'd for him, as for himſelf, as he had done for this *King* (then *Regnant Charles* II.) and look'd upon it as his Duty to do ſo. 2. That tho' he doubted not a *Reſurrection* of the *Cauſe* he had engag'd in, *(thorough-pac'd Enthuſiaſm)* yet would he leave this with all his *Brethren*, and *Friends*, that they ſhould keep their *Places*, wait upon God, and rather ſuffer, than do any thing to deliver themſelves, by indirect, and unjuſt ways. 3. That if His *Majeſty* had been pleas'd to have given him his Life; or if he had heard time enough of the *Proclamation*, to come over, he would, through the *Bleſſing* of God, have liv'd quietly, and rather ſuffer'd, than done any thing againſt the *Law* of the *Land*. 4. That whoever had proceeded againſt his

Col. *Okey's* Sp. 75.

' his Life, even to his quondam *Chaplain*,
' and thoſe in *Holland*, who had engag'd
' otherwiſe to his Friends, he forgave as
' freely, as he deſir'd God to forgive him.
' 5. His laſt words were, And it ſhall be
' my Prayer now, that *God* would give
' you *Peace* and *Truth*, and ſcatter them
' that *delight in Blood and War*. Theſe
are ſome of thoſe many wholeſom Ad-
vices he left among them, arguing ſo
much of a good intention, a pious well
diſpoſed mind, as 'tis much the *Fanaticks*
have not expung'd him their *Kalender*,
for expreſſing himſelf ſo directly con-
trary to what the reſt of their Party
profeſs'd and practis'd, both *Living*, and
Dying.

Sir *Henry Vane*, who brings up the *Rear* in this *Black Liſt*, according to courſe of time, deſerves likewiſe that Preference as the *Coryphæus* of *Fanaticiſm*, right down *inſpiration-Mad*, ſo furious a *Bigot* for whatever came uppermoſt in his *freakiſh* head, that the common Appellation men gave him was, Sir *Humerous Vanity*. His *Father*, and he, were doubtleſs two the moſt ungrateful Servants to *Good* K. *Charles* ever advanc'd by *Prince*, and each of them qualify'd with *Parts*, and *Intereſt* to carry on whatever deſigns they engag'd in, yet the

the old one was more cautious, and foreſeeing what Fate his *Son* would come to, like a cunning *Vulpone*, ſetled the *Eſtate* he had got from the *Crown* upon his *Grandchildren*. That there was any thing of the like caution in the other, tho' he kept out of that curſed *Court* which condemned the *King*, is hard to conceive, ſince none conduc'd more to the bringing him thither, and when taken off, more *zealouſly* forward to Eſtabliſh their new *Commonwealth*; yet in ſome of his Papers, that abſence of his is inſiſted upon, as if he hop'd it might help at a dead pinch: whereas all his other actions diſcover'd ſo much of *Republican* rancour, that it was thought *fire* might be as well permitted to continue in *Thatch*, as he live at *Liberty* in any thing of a *Monarchy*; and when upon that great *Revolution*, it was diſcover'd, whatever *Ludlow* ſaith to the contrary, he had been tampering with ſome *Malecontents* of the *Army*, and others, in order to freſh *Diſturbances*, the *Government* thought fit to confine him, where he continu'd more than a year, and then, whether upon his own motion by right of *Habeas Corpus*, or otherwiſe, I cannot diſcover, was brought to *Tryal*, with *Lambert*, and had he behav'd himſelf as *Lambert* did, own'd the *Juriſdiction* of

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the *Court*, confeſs'd his *Crime*, and begg'd *Pardon*; he might have eſcap'd with Life, as that other, according to the *Parliament*'s *Petition* to His *Majeſty*: But being charg'd with a continu'd ſeries of *Treaſons* from the *King*'s Murder to the *Reſtauration*, (altho' the *Councel* told him they might have began with the *Rebellion*) he abſolutely deny'd they had any Power to try him; that neither the *King*'s *Death*, nor the *Members* themſelves could diſſolve the *Long Parliament*, whereof he being one, no inferior *Court* could call him in queſtion, with ſo many *Cavils* for *Arreſt of Judgment*, *Councel*, and what not, as would have continu'd his *Tryal* till *Doomſday*, could he have liv'd ſo long, and his *Breath* held out, which never fail'd him, nor words neither, tho' moſt incoherently put together. *His Tryal* was Printed by his *Party*, with ſeveral *Speeches*, *Memorandums*, &c. his *Deportment* before he went, and upon the *Scaffold*; as likewiſe many *Additional Diſcourſes* of *Politicks*, *Divinity*, &c. making a pretty large *Quarto*, the compleateſt *body* of *Enthuſiaſm* I ever ſaw, tending to this main end, *That in Right of Jeſus Chriſt, and his People, 'twas juſtifiable to ſtand up againſt any Government, Controll*, and *Subvert* at Pleaſure. In like

manner he would have run on at his *Execution*, and becauſe not ſuffer'd to defend the *Treaſons* he had for 20 Years together continually acted, would have it a violation of every *Free-born Engliſhman's Right*. But then for his *Religious* deportment, he declar'd to *have ſuch Signs of Special Salvation*, they are the very words of his Prayer, *as to aſſure himſelf a place no lower than the Right hand of Jeſus Chriſt*: St. *Paul* was but a weak *Brother* in compariſon to him, who after many years labour in the *Goſpel* could not promiſe himſelf *to have attain'd, or were already made perfect*, &c. whereas this *Commonwealth Apoſtle*, ſet the *Crown* upon his head, the firſt day of his *Spiritual Birth*, and even *whilſt here in the Body was made partaker of Eternal Life in the firſt fruits of it*. But why ſhould we mention St. *Paul*, when in his laſt *Agony* he ſo *Blaſphemouſly* emulated our *Bleſſed Saviour* himſelf; for inſtead of a *Lord have mercy on my Soul*; *Chriſt Jeſus receive my Spirit*; or the like; we are told his very laſt words of all at the *Block* were as followeth, *Father glorifie thy Servant in the ſight of men, that he may Glorifie thee, in the diſcharge of his Duty to thee, and to his Country*. Could any thing but *Hell* inſpire a man at this rate? yet all his

Tryal of Sir *H. V.* p. 89.

P. 95.

Speeches

Speeches and *Prayers* are more or leſs one continu'd *Rhapſody* of ſuch abominable Stuff.

I ſhall mention ſomething of his *Temporal* Concerns, partly for that our *Author*'s relation is as oppoſite to truth as one *Pole* to the other; Sir *Henry Vane*, ſaith he, *was a Gentleman of an Ancient Family in the County of* Durham; whereas the *Family* they were of, was directly *South*, either in *Kent*, or *Eſſex*, as I am inform'd, till the *Old Fellow*, having well *fleec'd* himſelf at *Court*, mov'd *Northward*, upon this occaſion. *Raby-Caſtle* was in the *Crown*, one of the fineſt *Royalties* in the *North* of *England*, aſſign'd King *Charles*, with other Lands when *Prince* of *Wales*, for the ſupport of his Family: When come to the *Crown*, the *Parliament* not ſupplying him to carry on the *Spaniſh War*, as they had promis'd both his *Father* and *Self*, he was oblig'd to aſſign it over to ſome *Citizens* for a Summ of Money, giving them Power to lett *Leaſes*, &c. Old Sir *Henry* knowing this to be a conſiderable Purchaſe, agreed with the Citizens for their intereſt, and then got it confirm'd to him by the *King*, upon eaſie terms, we may well preſume, facilitated too by ſome undervaluings, for when entertain'd there in his *Expedition*

againſt the *Scots*, and finding a magnificent *Structure*, according to that old way of Building, he pleaſantly told him, Sir *Henry*, *This is more than a heap of Stones.* When *Cromwell* gave the *Rump* their *Quietus*, thoſe few of them who had *Country* Seats retir'd thither, this *Hen.* the 2*d.* his Father being a little before Dead, to *Raby-Caſtle*; where, becauſe prohibited to do it any longer in the *Government*, he Tyranniz'd over his Tenants and Neighbours, obliging the former to take new *Leaſes*, as not allowing thoſe they had from the *Citizens*; and ſeiz'd upon an *Eſtate* to the value of 200 *l. per Annum*, which had been Purchas'd by a charitable *Gentleman* out of the *Mannor*, and given to the *Pariſh* of *Stanthorp*, for *Relief* of the *Poor*, ſupport of the *Free School*, and repair of the *Church*; with many ſuch-like *Arbitrary Encroachments*, according to the plenitude of his *Self-will'd Power.* The People we may imagine could not long brook ſuch uſage, but at length took ſo much courage as to Petition *Cromwell* for Relief, who referr'd it, by eſpecial recommendation to his *Commiſſioners* of the *Seal*, and they finding Matter of Fact true, did the *Tenants* Right to the great diſſatisfaction of this Lord *Paramount.*

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I have been the more particular in this relation upon a double account; the one is to clear that great Man the *Earl of Strafford*, whom I have frequently found cenſur'd, by many otherwiſe his *Admirers*, for taking the Title of *Raby* to his *Barony*, ſuppoſing it to be old *Vane's Paternal Eſtate*, whereas if taken when firſt made a *Peer*, it was not in his Poſſeſſion; if otherwiſe, when *Earl*, the original Right continu'd in the *Crown*, the *King* might diſpoſe of the *Honor* to whom he pleas'd, as he had done before of the Eſtate; yet 'tis thought the peeviſh old *Secretary*, for this reaſon, plotted the ruine of that incomparable *Miniſter*, as both he and his Son, conduc'd in many other things to that of their *Maſter*; may ſuch ingratitude in due time meet with an *Act* of *Reſumption*. The other thing I deſign'd to obſerve from the foremention'd relation is, that men of *Commonwealth Principles*, whatever noiſe they make of the *Peoples Right*, *Liberty*, *Property*, &c. where-ever they get into Power, and Authority are more inſolent and *Arbitrary* than any ſort of Mankind; uneaſie *Neighbours*, griping *Landlords*, froward *Maſters*, *exact* from, and *impoſe* upon all they have to do with. And this rough ſelf-will'd management of his

own private concerns, is an Argument to me, much beyond our *Author*'s authority, that the good Conduct of their *Marine Affairs* at that time, muſt proceed from others of a more ſedate temper; ſo warm a *Brain*, and violent *Spirit* could not do any thing with *judgment*, and *diſcretion*. I cannot forbear to mention what his Friends tell us of his deportment after Condemnation, ſome perſwading him to make *Submiſſion* to the *King*, and endeavour the obtaining of his *Life*, he ſaid, *If the King did not think himſelf more concern'd for his Honour, and his Word, than he did for his Life, then he was willing they ſhould take it; nay, I declare, ſaid he, I value my Life leſs in a good Cauſe, than the King can do his Promiſe:* with ſeveral ſuch like *Rants* ſo abominably extravagant, as if he ſtudied to precipitate his own ruine; but he treated *God Almighty* at the ſame impudent manner, ſo that 'tis hard to reſolve whether his *Blaſphemies*, or *Treaſons* were greateſt; for both which I preſume it is that our *Author* and his *Friends* give him ſo high a *Character*, commend his *Eloquence*, *Soundneſs of Judgment*, *Preſence of Mind*, *Gravity*, *Magnanimity*, *and what crowns all*, *Conſtant adherence to the Cauſe of his Country*; whereas *Bedlam* would afford

Tryal of Sir *H. V.* *Pag.* 81.

afford us many of a much more ſteady *temper*; and *Newgate* truer *Patriots* to the *Nation*'s Peace, and Welfare.

Thus have I run over the *Legendary Relation* of our *Republican Regicides*, as laid before us by this impoſing *Author*, wherein nevertheleſs we both agree as to Matter of *Fact*, only what he attributes to a *good*, I will have proceed from an *Evil Spirit*; and for Deciſion, my appeal ſhall be to the *Reader*, whether the *Word* of *Truth* hath not foretold, That *ſome might come under ſuch ſtrange Deluſions, as to turn men out of the Church, ay, and kill them too, thinking all the while they did God great ſervice?* And could that *Text* be ever more literally verified, than when a company of *Illiterate Mechanicks*, with ſome others of little, or, which is worſe, bad *Education*, ſhall pretend a *Commiſſion* from the *Divine Spirit*, for *Murdering* their *King*, Subverting the *Government*, and make every individual Perſon ſubmit to their own *Arbitrary Wills*, and *Inſpiration-Follies*. For particular Men, there is no Diſcourſe of *Melancholy* but tells us what *freakiſh* Conceits the ſtrength of *Imagination* hath poſſeſs'd them withal; but for a conſiderable part of a *Nation* to be ſo carry'd away, we are the only Precedent, and ſure no others will

Jo. 16. 2.

be ſo mad as to follow us. Since therefore I cannot *parallel* them with a Party, I ſhall do it with a *Perſon* or two; and begin with that modern *Patriarch* of *Speculative Atheiſm*, *Vaninus*, who when he was condemned to be burnt, for that he deny'd the *Being* of a *God*, and upon the firſt ſenſe of Pain, cry'd out, *Mon Dieu*, the Flames were ſtopt, and he told, upon continuing to own that God now call'd upon, his *Life* ſhould be ſpar'd: To which he reply'd, They were only words of courſe, and he was reſolv'd to die in defence of his own Cauſe. Now, I preſume, the *Atheiſt* admires this abominable Wretch's Courage, as much as *Ludlow* and his *Friends* that of *Harriſon*, and the reſt, and juſt with as much reaſon. But to come from no *Religion* to that which is almoſt as bad, thoſe *Proto-Fanaticks* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, *Hacket*, *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, what execrable *Blaſphemies* did they utter? even commanding God to Patronize their *Deluſions*. And if our *Author* conſulted the *Hiſtory* of *Reformation* among his beloved *Swiſs*, he might have found at the beginning they ſwarm'd much with *Anabaptiſts*, however it is at preſent, one of which cut off his *Brother*'s *Head*, in preſence of *Father* and *Mother*, ſaying, *God commanded*

manded him ſo to do. And the *Lord Chief Baron*, when he paſs'd *Sentence* upon the Five that were Try'd next after *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Scroop*, *Jones* and *Clement*, told them of one in *Shropſhire*, who kill'd his *Father* and *Mother*, after he had ſought of the Lord whether he might do it or not, very applicable to thoſe Wretches who pretended they had done the ſame thing, in order to the *Murder* of the *Father* of their *Country*; and thereupon he went on very piouſly to adviſe them, *That they ſhould try their own Spirits, and not think every Fancy and Imagination to be Conſcience: There is* (ſaith he) *a Spiritual Pride, Men may over-run themſelves by their own Holineſs, and pretended Revelations, reſt upon that Self-confidence, and miſtake the Devil for an Angel of Light.* This was good Advice, indeed, too good for them to follow, for they all dy'd as they liv'd, under the curſed *Infatuations* of a *deluded Mind.* Tryals, p. 101.

There is but one thing more I ſhall further obſerve, how the whole Current of the *Rebellion* was carry'd on by this *Inſpiration-Fraud.* The *Presbyterians*, though they had been all along for their own *Forms*, in oppoſition to thoſe of our *Church*; yet this *Evil Spirit* getting in vogue, fram'd their Pipes accordingly,

and

and *bellow'd* among the reſt: but the *Independents*, *Hugh Peters* more-eſpecially, with his *New-England* Gang, having got the *Trumpet-Stop*, ſilenc'd them moſt profoundly; nay, which is more, ſo propagated the *Knack* among the *Army*, as moſt of their *Officers*, even to a *Corporal*, could thunder out *Extempore Nonſence*, *Preach* and *Pray*, without *knowing* what they ſaid, or deſigning to be underſtood: And theſe were *Cromwell*'s chiefeſt *Properties*, by whoſe means he made his *advance*, inſomuch as it was obſerv'd he ſcarce car'd for any Man that ſpoke Sence, and had ſeveral *Artifices* to diſparage it, but moſt of all it was abhorr'd in their *Pulpit-Cants*. The truth of it is, a Man of ſound *Chriſtian* Principles, and good *Moral Life*, was as much *Reprobated* by them, as the *Phariſees* did all but themſelves; and could they have fix'd that *Doctrine*, of *Dominion in Grace*, which the *Levelling Party* bid fair for, no *Perſon* ſhould have had any *Property* but themſelves. But when *Cromwell* had attain'd his *height*, they perceiv'd whoſe *Tools* they had been, and the moſt conſiderable of them began to be very uneaſie to him, ſo that with much *Stratagem* he was forc'd to diſcard the moſt of them, and *confine* ſome in *Priſon*; and though by this means he kept

kept them under during his own time, yet that Oaff his *Son* was ſupplanted by them in leſs than a Year's time, and after about half a dozen turns, in the time of a year more, all things moſt *miraculouſly* return'd to our *times as of old.* And tho' theſe *Sons of Deluſion* had the Confidence to foretell at *Execution* a *Reſurrection* of their *Cauſe*, as ſome of the *Party* have done of their *Bodies*, yet that time is ſtill to come, and I hope may be as far of, as that many times expected *Deliverance* of the *Jews*; and indeed to me they have all along ſeem'd to be equally under the ſame *Spiritual Obduration, after their hard and impenitent hearts, Treaſuring up unto themſelves wrath againſt the day of wrath, and Revelation of the Righteous Judgment of God.* Rom. 2. 5.

SECT. III.

THE little now remaining of my promis'd Undertaking, relates to that Bulk of *Letters and other Papers*, which ſwell up this *Third Volume* to very nigh one half; and would they be ſincere, the true reaſon is, that this might bear proportion with the other *Two*, and keep up the *Crown Price*, although the freſh

and

and true *Information* it contains is not worth *Sixpence.* And this I muſt further take notice of, That theſe *Letters* of His *Majeſty* were never but once printed by the *Factious*, and that when firſt taken at *Naſeby*, bearing this *Title*, *The King's Cabinet open'd*, &c. (which I have by me) with a ſcurrilous *Preface*, and moſt virulent *Annotations*, ſo rude and falſe, as moſt of their own *Party* bluſh'd at them: To be ſure the *Loyaliſts* were ſo far from being aſham'd of any thing there diſcover'd, as they became a further Confirmation to them of the *King*'s great *Parts*, extraordinary *Goodneſs*, and moſt tender Regard of his *Peoples Welfare*, and accordingly had them conſtantly printed with his other *Works* both in *Octavo* and *Folio.*

But the Title here tells us 'tis a *Collection of Letters and other Papers relating to divers Important Paſſages in the precedent Memoirs*; which *Other Papers* were likewiſe moſt of them printed with the *Letters*, or occaſionally afterward as they fell into their baſe Hands, and as to every Paſſage reply'd to in my *Juſt Defence*, without any thing of Importance diſcover'd, more than implacable *Malice*, and egregious *Falſhoods.* One Particular I muſt needs repeat: It is there made appear

pear how grosly His *Majesty* was abus'd by that forg'd *Commission* the *Irish Rebels* produc'd, and how villainously their *Lieutenant-General Ludlow* would have had Sir *Phelim O Neal* redeem his *Life* by charging it upon him; which that Man, as bad as he had been, had more Honour and Conscience than to do; yet a *Copy* of this *Commission* is printed in the Collection, as undoubtedly so, though even their *Memoir* doth but say, the *Irish pretended a Commission from the King*, pag. 19. Vol. I. and they knew it as certainly false, as we may them *Lyars*: but it helps on a Design, and that is enough.

As for this last *Volume*, I find but one Passage wherein our *Royal Martyr* is concern'd, that is *aspers'd*, for they never mention him but to that purpose, and this rais'd from his Correspondence with the *Marquess* of *Antrim*, who, our *Author* tells us, was an *Irish Priest*, *among the first in Rebellion there*, *seiz'd upon in* London, *upon* Charles the Second's *Restauration*, *sent Prisoner to the* Tower, *from thence to* Ireland, *and there set at Liberty by a Letter under the King's Hand, charging the Guilt of that Rebellion upon his Father, in that he affirms, the Earl of* Antrim *did nothing without Warrant and Autho-*

Authority from his Father. Thus far the *Memoir*, pag. 115. with ſome truth, but very little; for firſt, he was not ſet at *Liberty* by the *King's Letter*, but they who charg'd, and caus'd him to be Committed, not able to make good their *Allegations*, he became *freed* in courſe. Neither, *ſecondly*, is it ſaid he did nothing without *Warrant* and *Authority* from the *King his Father*; the expreſs words of the *Letter* are, *That what he did by way of Correſpondence or Compliance with the* Iriſh *Rebels, was in order to the Service of Our Royal Father, warranted by his Inſtructions, and that the benefit thereof accrued to the Crown.* Col. p. 357. which how baſely our Author would pervert, as if his firſt engagement in the *Rebellion*, and continued going along with them, were by the *King's* Allowance, every eye may diſcover; whereas the words can be no further ſtretch'd, than that in proceſs of time, he was ſo ſenſible of his Folly, not to term it worſe, as he thought to expiate for the ſame, by bringing over his *Confederates*, as many as he could, to their due *Allegiance*, together with *himſelf.* And that this he endeavour'd, and was all the *Good King* encourag'd him in, or Authoriz'd him to do, will appear from theſe few Particulars I meet with

of

of his Undertakings. When the *Scotch Covenanters* firſt began their *Stirs*, I find this *Marqueſs* of *Antrim* making a Propoſal to the *King*, of a Deſcent from his County of that Name, or ſome other of the *Northern* Parts in *Ireland*, upon the Earl of *Argyle*, and his ſeveral *Dependents* in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Scotland*. But the Deep-ſighted *Strafford* finding him unable to accompliſh what he promis'd upon that account, it came to nothing; tho' doubtleſs he might produce ſeveral Letters from the *King*, not without Encouragements, and kind Acknowledgements for his good Intentions. The next thing I find him engag'd in, was more conſiderable, though not full up to what he promis'd. When the *Scots* came in 43. to the *Aſſiſtance* of their Fellow-*Rebels* here, the *Noble Montroſs*, then at *Oxon* with the *King*, laid a Deſign of giving them a Diverſion in the *Highlands*, in order whereunto this Marqueſs of *Antrim* promis'd to ſend him Ten Thouſand Men out of *Ireland*, and return'd thither to that purpoſe, as the other with great difficulty got into the *Highlands*, and there abſconded a conſiderable time in expectation of the fore-mention'd Supply, wherein at length there was ſomething done, that is, Fourteen or Fifteen Hundred

Nalſ. Col. 221.

Hundred Men, ſent under the Command of that Brave Fellow *Mac Donald*, which *Montroſs* augmenting with his ſeveral *Clans* there, perform'd thoſe many *Noble* Exploits recorded to his *Eternal Glory*. And this *Charles the Second*'s *Letter* particularly related to, *That he drew ſome Forces from* Ireland *for the Service of* Scotland, *pag.* 355. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid in the ſame *Letter*, *That he join'd with the* Iriſh, *in order to reduce them to their Obedience*: And though it doth not expreſly appear as to any ſingle Circumſtances, for want of the *Old King*'s Letters to him, yet in general it may be concluded he was not ſo hot as the *Prieſt-ridden Party* there, but willing to comply with ſuch Conceſſions as the *King* in *Honour* and *Conſcience* might grant. For whoever conſults the Hiſtory of thoſe Times in *Ireland*, will find that moſt of the ſenſible *Nobility* and *Gentry*, ay, and *Commanders* too, from 43: forward, diſcern'd what Miſchiefs they had brought upon themſelves, and were, to prevent further danger, deſirous to comply with His *Majeſty*'s Propoſals, of a *General Toleration*; but the *Eccleſiaſticks*, eſpecially when headed by the *Pope*'s *Nuncio*, and had the *Mobb* at their *Lure*, would be ſatisfy'd with nothing but a kind of *Inquiſition-Eſtabliſhment* of their

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Religion. That the *Marqueſs* we diſcouſe of was one of the former, appears by his Deportment at *Oxon*, where, I preſume, he was one of the *Agents* ſent by the *Catholick Confederates*, as they termed themſelves, to attend His *Majeſty*, with *Deſires* and *Propoſitions* moſt extravagant, as they themſelves confeſs'd; and therefore according as they promis'd the *King*, did, upon their return, repreſent the *abſolute neceſſity of ſubmitting to him, till able to grant them more, that they might not be glad to accept leſs: But the Evil Genius of that People*, ſaith my Author, *(condemn'd to wilful Ruine and Miſfortune) ſoon evidenc'd how unripe they were for Mercy; and that it was not ſo eaſie to allay the Evil Spirits they had conjur'd up, as to foment and irritate them.* Dr. *Burl.* p. 145.

And now from a due Conſideration of the Premiſſes, I appeal how it can be ſuppos'd His *Majeſty's Letters* ſhould relate to any thing more than encouraging this *Marqueſs*'s good Endeavours to the making Matters as eaſie as he could, in order to the *Ceſſation* which thereupon follow'd: And the *Peace* likewiſe, which after many tedious *Negotiations* was concluded in 46, had doubtleſs his helping Hand, though it came to nothing, by reaſon of the *Nuncio*'s and his *Clergies*

abominable *Aſſumings*, and *Superſtitious Rigours*; all which appears from his Son *Charles the Second*'s *Letter*, the only *Authority* they have for this wreſted *Calumny*; for 'tis there expreſly declar'd, *That his Compliance with the* Iriſh *Rebels, was in order to the Service of his Royal Father, and that the Benefit thereof accrued to the Crown.* And upon a full, impartial Conſideration of that *Letter*, the *Marqueſs* 'will be found to have had very hard 'meaſure; for at his coming over, after 'the *Reſtauration*, upon Complaint of 'the *Iriſh Deputies* here at *Court*, that he 'was not worthy the leaſt Countenance 'from His *Majeſty*, and that they had 'manifeſt, unqueſtionable *Evidence* of his '*Guilt*, he was forbid the *Royal Preſence*, 'committed to the *Tower*, and then re-'mitted into *Ireland* for his *Tryal* and '*Puniſhment*; where, after many Months '*Attendance*, and preſum'd *Examination*, 'he was diſmiſs'd without Cenſure; and 'without any *Tranſmiſſion* of Charge to 'us, was Licenſed to *Tranſport* himſelf 'into *England*: Whereupon the *King* 'thought in *Juſtice* he ought to be Heard 'by his *Councel* here, and producing the 'forementiond *Teſtimony* under his *Fa-'ther*'s own Hand, recommended him to 'the *Court* of *Claims*, in order to be re-

'poſſeſs'd

'poſſeſs'd of his Eſtate, as more deſerving 'than the *Rebels* on the other ſide, who 'had done all the miſchief, without the 'leaſt good, and had no other Title than 'Seven or Eight Years quiet Poſſeſſion 'ſince their Maſter *Cromwell* made the '*Dividend.* However, I am not to plead the *Marqueſs*'s Caſe, any further than our *Royal Martyr* is concern'd, who, that he ſhould be concluded to promote *Popery*, or wiſh well to the *Rebellion*, becauſe he *plough'd* ſometimes with their *Heifer*, in order to an Accommodation, is a true piece of *Fanatick Spite*, and exactly reſembles the grand *Author*, the *Father of Lyes*; they might as well conclude him a *Presbyterian*, for that he correſponded with ſome *Scotch-Covenanters*; or wiſh'd well to the *Engliſh Rebellion*, and *Army*, becauſe he treated with *Cromwell* and his *Mirmidons*, when in their Hands; whereas all he did, was to ſhew, there ſhould be no defect on his ſide, in order to the *Nation*'s true *Peace* and *Settlement*. Neither is there any thing more common between *Enemies*, either in *Courts*, or *Camps*, than to work upon the *Diſcontents*, or good *Diſpoſitions*, of ſome in *Employment* on the adverſe Side, in order to *Intelligence*, or any other beneficial End, as the Circumſtances they are in require.

Dolus an Virtus? is a known Rule, and to give an Inſtance thereof in our preſent Caſe, as to the *Iriſh* Affairs, by thoſe that manag'd them as well againſt the *King*, as *Popiſh Rebels*; Sir *Charles Coot* being ſhut up in *London-Derry* by ſuch of the *Romaniſts* as had gone over to the *King*, and reduc'd to great Neceſſity, made no ſcruple of treating with *Owen O Neil*, a *General* of the Bloodyeſt *Iriſh*, and he alone who would not come in to the *Duke of* Ormond's *Peace*, that he ſhould raiſe the *Siege*, upon the Payment of 2000 *l.* in Money, with other Conſiderations, of *Amunition* and *Cattle*, which was mutually perform'd on either Side: And the then *Colonel Monk*, in *Command* there, had done ſomething of the like kind before. 'Tis true, indeed, their *Worſhips* at *Weſtminſter*, who at that time had got all into their hands, ſeem'd to mutter at it; but the *Grandees*, and *Military Men*, not only approv'd, but applauded what they had done, the *Exigencies* they were in duly conſider'd.

Dr *Burl.* 217.

I ſhall mention but one thing more in *Defence* of our *Royal Martyr*, as to Correſpondencies of this kind. Moſt of the *Letters* taken at *Naſeby*, and ſo *baſely* printed by the *Junto*, were to the *Queen*, in the firſt of which we find this Paſſage,

I for-

I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall *the Speaker brags, Cardinal* Mazarine *keeps a ſtrict Intelligence with him:* —— *As for* Sabran (the *French* Envoy at *London) I am confident he or his Inſtructions are not right for him that is eternally thine.* Now in their *Annotations* to the firſt *Edition* aforemention'd, as they charge the *King* moſt baſely, even for Correſponding with his *Queen*, becauſe of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, as if thereby he deſign'd to bring in thoſe Rites; ſo no notice is taken of this their *Speaker*'s Correſpondence, either to deny or juſtifie it: And to give ſuch *Devils* their due, ſince reſolv'd to perſevere in their *Rebellion*, 'twas as juſtifiable as any thing they did. But why then ſo ſevere upon their *King*, that *they* ſhould dare to ſteal the *Horſe*, and not give *him* leave to look over the *Hedge*, yet at the ſame inſolent rate do theſe Second *Publiſhers* of his *Letters* uſe him; for though they had not ſo much Confidence as to adjoin the *Annotations*, their Predeceſſors made, they have found out a more contracted way of expreſſing their ill-natur'd Proſecution, by preſenting us with a Paſſage out of his *Declaration* dated from *Newark, March* 9°. 1641. wherein he tells the *Parliament*, *That whatſoever they were advertiſed from* Rome,

Paris, *or* Venice, *of the Pope's Nuncio's ſoliciting* France, Spain, *&c. for Foreign Aids, was falſe*; thereupon moſt ſolemnly proteſts againſt the thing; and indeed it hath ſince appear'd to be one of the many ſiniſter *Stratagems* to ruine him, and themſelves: Theſe thorough-pac'd *Calumniators* thought, I ſay, to do the buſineſs with one general daſh, of ſo great a latitude, as to comprehend whatever from firſt to laſt had been brought againſt him; their words are theſe, *If this Paſſage be compar'd with the preceding Letters and Inſtructions, all Equitable Men may judge, whether the King did not paſs Sentence upon himſelf, and abſolve the High-Court of Juſtice*, p. 321. That *Dolus latet in Univerſalibus* is acknowledg'd on all hands: The *Devil* did not more covertly charge *Job*, than theſe his *Agents* this *Good Man*; and as he was given into their power in the ſame manner, nay, even to the *touching of his Life*; ſo never any ſince, *meer Man*, was attack'd with greater *Slanders*, bore them and his many other *Afflictions* more *patiently*, and as glorioufly *ſacrific'd* his *Life*, in Defence of that *Religion*, and thoſe *Laws*, which theſe worſt of Men would hold the World in hand afreſh he deſign'd to *ſubvert*, and *betray*.

And

And here I had finiſh'd my own, and *Readers* trouble, but that a ſpiteful young Fellow, whom I took notice of in the end of my *Defence*, for defaming the Memory of our *Royal Martyr*, in his *Life of Milton*, hath continu'd the like inveterate humour in another Piece which he terms *Amyntor*; where he ſo baſely catches at, and perverts every thing which in the moſt forc'd ſence that can be put upon *Words* or *Things*, tends to diſorder, or otherwiſe diſturb thoſe *Sacred Aſhes* of his; an Action which among all the ſober *Greeks* and *Romans* was look'd upon as the greateſt defection from *Humanity*, and what the *Barbarous* Nations were ſeldom guilty of. As to the Controverſie about his *Divine Meditations*, it ſhall be wholly left to his worthy *Antagoniſt*, who hath abundantly ſatisfy'd all Men that will be ſo. That there are others, whom all the World ſhall not oblige to *confeſs* an *Error*, or *amend* it, is too clear to be deny'd, and too great a *Folly* to be regarded.

My *Exceptions* ſhall commence at that which he takes againſt Mr. *Blackall*, for calling him the *Beſt of Kings, and the Beſt of Men*; which, he ſaith, Some, *who otherwiſe honour the Memory of* King Charles, *are angry to hear*. It ſeems this Gentleman is none of thoſe *Some*, and

if he had been pleas'd to tell us who they were, we might have been better able to judge of what degree their *Honour* was, real or pretended; for ſome may alledge a Reſpect to the *Prince*, on purpoſe to aggravate the Miſtake in the *Preacher*, or otherwiſe humour him who firſt found fault. I would deſire him further to conſider whether an *Hyperbole* may not be allow'd in a flight of *Rhetorick*; and to call him the *Beſt of Kings and Men*, can be ſtretch'd no further, than that he ought to be rank'd among thoſe that have been moſt *Eminent* in either of thoſe *Qualities*. Nevertheleſs, if taken in the literal ſence, 'tis highly diſingenuous to aſcend to the *Apoſtles*, who, tho' indeed Men, yet was there an infallible Aſſiſtance of *God's Holy Spirit* attending their *Miniſtry*, in which caſe nothing of Compariſon could be ſuppos'd by any ingenious Perſon; from which how far this *Fault finder* is, appears in that he urgeth a thing invidiouſly, which is no *Article of his Creed*; and ſhould it be brought againſt him upon another occaſion, would be rejected with a moſt *Blaſphemous Contempt*: And hereof he gives us a tacit intimation, by leaping ſo ſuddenly out of the *Pale* of the *Church*, where he might have found ſeveral *Confeſſors* of all *Orders* and

and *Degrees*, for an exact parallel; and comes to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *many of whom*, he ſaith, *did infinitely excell him in all Moral and Heroick Vertues*. A bold ſtroke this, and therefore he goes no further than the firſt daſh, tho' he could not but imagine we ſhould be deſirous to know who thoſe Perſons were, and wherein they outdid him: Would he have had him imitate *Cato* and *Brutus* in their *Self-homicide*? or *Naſcia*, or *Opinius*, in cutting off the *Seditious Gracchi*? That indeed had not been amiſs; but neither our *Laws* nor our *Religion* will admit of ſuch *Heroicks*; ſo that it had been properer to have continued in the *Chriſtian Oeconomy*, where, if we conſider him either as a *private Perſon*, or a *Prince*, few will be found to have come up to him, none out-done him, as ſeveral have made appear, who knew him better, and were much more competent Judges than this unthinking *Prate-a-pace*.

The Advantage likewiſe he thinks to take of Mr. *Blackall*, by fawning upon His preſent *Majeſty*, will return upon himſelf, in a *grand defect both of that Good-manners and Juſtice* he ſo falſly chargeth the other withal. *Compariſons* have been ever look'd upon as an odious way of arguing, at leaſtwiſe ought to be ſo manag'd, as the *Diſparity* may not re-

flect

ſect upon the Perſon whom they would ſeem to advance. Now this bold Man need not be told, that *Charles* I. was His preſent *Majeſty*'s *Grand-father*; by which Relation, that of *Royal* was added to the Ancient *Princely* Blood of his *Family*; that he muſt needs be ſenſible what cruel meaſures he met with from a moſt *perfidious* Race of *Rebels*, who regarded nothing which their *Fore-fathers* had eſteem'd moſt *Sacred* and *Religious*; that the Principles upon which they acted, ſtrike at all *Monarchy* whatſoever; and that this Fellow includes a tacit Threat, in mentioning thoſe Defects wherewith the *Grand-father* was ſo falſly charg'd; as if, when they thought fit, or rather, could find a fit opportunity, they would act over the ſame Part again: For 'tis all *Tyranny* with them; and whenever they promiſe any one to make him a *Glorious Prince*, 'twill be, as in the ſad Subject we are upon, by *Martyrdom*.

And this is what I am farther to remonſtrate, That all his Allegations are abſolutely falſe. That *Good King* was not in the leaſt guilty of any of thoſe *Popular Aſperſions* which in this Compariſon of his are ſo baſely reviv'd, and ſuppos'd true: He never *diſpens'd with expreſs Laws in favour of Popiſh Recuſants, nor protected*

protected any of his Chaplains againſt the Parliament for Preaching up Arbitrary Power, nor was in the leaſt degree acceſſory to any of thoſe reproachful Suggeſtions this *Son of a Potato* ſo impudently runs on with, as the *Juſt Defence*, I engag'd in, makes appear at large, and thereto he is remitted: where likewiſe he may find Satisfaction in reference to the *Letter* ſent *Pope Gregory* XV. the Circumſtances he was then in conſider'd, and with how great Prudence it was penn'd; which that vile *Pamphlet* in *Defence of the Parliament* 40, doth therefore add to, and alter moſt abominably. All theſe are ſo fully reply'd to, and in every reſpect made appear to be abſolutely falſe, as I ſhall not further concern my ſelf in any thing of that kind, but only take notice of two new *Piques* this ſnarling Fellow hath ſtarted afreſh, though it only ſhows what little Nothings ſuch *Curriſh* Humours will *bark* at.

The one indeed relates in general to all our *Kings*, from *Edward the Confeſſor* downward, and perhaps in its *Original* Purport reaches as high as the *King of Heaven*, in this Man's bold Reflections upon that *Divine Miraculous Gift* which in the foreſaid *Edward*'s time was diſcover'd, and hath ever ſince accompany'd

all

all our *Crown'd Heads*, in Curing that Diſtemper by the *Ancients* termed *Scrofula*, but by us, (from this extraordinary way, not of the *King*'s touching the affected Part, as he prates at large, but ſtroaking the lower part of the *Face* towards the *Neck* and *Throat*, where indeed the Diſtemper oftenest reſides, with imploring *God's Bleſſing* upon the Means us'd, in a a *Solemn Office*, which he ſo impiouſly *ridicules*) the *King's-Evil*.

The other thing I ſhall reflect upon, is the ſtrong *Effort* of his weak Endeavours, to recommend the ſetting aſide that *Solemn* Obſervation of the 30th of *January*, being the Day of the *Martyrdom of the Bleſſed King* Charles I. and order'd by *Act of Parliament* to be moſt Religiouſly kept, *to implore the Mercy of God, that neither the Guilt of that Sacred and Innocent Blood, nor thoſe other Sins by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our King into the Hands of cruel and unreaſonable Men, may at any time hereafter be viſited upon us, or our Poſterity.* This was the end of its Inſtitution, which how little effect it hath hitherto had, too ſadly appears, in that this *bold Fellow*, and too many like him, dare to *extenuate* or *juſtifie* ſo *Execrable* a *Fact*. Such Men and ſuch Principles prevailing every day at the

Which to the Office.

rate

rate they do, is to me little leſs than Demonſtration, *that the anger of the Lord is not turn'd away, but his hand continues ſtretched out ſtill.*

For the former of theſe, the Cure of the *Diſtemper* by the *Royal Touch*, there is no part nor corner of the *Kingdom* without pregnant Teſtimonies as to the Matter of Fact, ſo fully vouch'd both by the *Parties* heal'd, and others, as the *Cortex* may be as ſoon deny'd to remove a Fit of an *Ague*, or a Doſe of *Laudanum* to procure *Sleep* ; ſo ridiculous and impertinent is this vain *Aſſumer*, to inveigh againſt and decry a thing which moſt of the able *Phyſicians* and *Chyrurgeons* in Town could have inform'd him to be experimentally true, and many hundred *Families* afford *Patients* ſo recover'd. Yet ſince he hath given me this Occaſion, I ſhall mention a *Cure* or two of our *Royal Martyr*, which may not a little ſhock his *Iriſh Infidelity*. *Ludlow*, in his Firſt *Volume*, tells us, and I preſume 'twas complain'd of in the *Houſe*, what a *Concourſe* of People reſorted to His *Majeſty*, when deliver'd up by the *Scots*, as he went from *Newcaſtle* to *Holmby*, and was kept there, particularly many came to be Cur'd of the *Evil* ; and ſo it continu'd all along when the *Army* had taken him into their hands,

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eſpecially when brought nigher *London*; for during his Confinement at *Hampton-Court*, there were ſeveral *Healings*, where, his *Chaplains* not ſuffer'd to attend him, he perform'd the *Prieſt's Office* too: The whole was in this manner: The People kneeling down in two Rows, he went between them, and *ſtroaking* every one, us'd this expreſſion, *I touch, God heal.* A Perſon now living in *Chancery-lane*, by Name *Oglethorp*, was then touch'd by him, and gives this Account of himſelf, That he had been ſeveral Months, more than a Year, under the *Chyrurgeons* hands with a ſore *Arm*, wherein were many *Holes*, and other ſad *Breaches*, ſo far from any thing of *Cure*, as he every day grew worſe, till having obtain'd the *Royal Touch*, his *Sores* dried up in a ſhort time, and he hath ever ſince, which is more than fifty Years, continu'd in a vigorous ſtate of Health, and freely ſhews the *Holes* and *Cavities* in his *Arm*, to *God's Glory*, by the *King's Means*, when all others were ineffectual. What follows, is yet more remarkable: As they hurry'd His *Majeſty* from *Hurſt Caſtle*, towards *London*, in order to his *Murder*, paſſing through *Wincheſter*, a poor Man ſo miſerably over-grown with that Diſtemper, as his *Face* was all run over with *Scabs*

and

and *Blotches*, preſs'd earneſtly to be *Touch'd*; but the cruel *Soldiers* not permitting him, and the *King* perceiving it, us'd this expreſſion, *May God do for thee, though they will not let me uſe the Means.* The poor Fellow went away without any hope of Redreſs, but coming at night to waſh his Face with a Water which ſome body had preſcrib'd him, he found none in the *Bottle*; and what was ſtranger, it ſeem'd to have been dry'd up by the *Stone-Bottle*, for that it was broke out into *Scales* and *Blotches* in every part, whilſt the Man's *Face* in a few Days *dry'd up*, and was perfectly well. Now before our daring *Amyntor* explode this, according to his no laudable Practice, let him ſend or go to *Wincheſter*, where, I preſume, the *Bottle* is ſtill in being, for the *Wife* is ſaid to be yet living, to be ſure all the ancient People in the *City* will witneſs it, and ſcarce a Perſon of any *Quality* in the whole *Country* but had the Curioſity to ſee it: Which brings on one Circumſtance more; A *Gentlewoman*, among ſome other Strangers, having the *Bottle* in her Hand, broke off with her Finger one of the looſe *Scales*; the Man had immediately a little *Scab* roſe on his *Lip*, and not knowing what was done, expoſtulated with his Wife whether no body

had

had hurt the *Bottle?* which ſhe thereupon was oblig'd to acknowledge. Dr. *Turbervill*, the famous *Oculiſt* at *Sarum*, did uſe to declare among his Friends, that he had often met with that Diſtemper in the *Eyes*, and was ſeldom able to maſter it; but finding the *King*'s *Touch* as ſeldom fail'd, advis'd all *Patients* which came to him in that Condition, to take that courſe of *Cure*. This I have mention'd, in order to the following Paſſage: Going, nigh Forty Years ſince, (for it was the Winter after the *Reſtauration*) from *Deptford* to *Lambeth*, the *Coach-man*, upon ſome little concern of his own, ſtay'd at an *Inn* or *Ale-houſe* on the Way; whereupon a *Gentleman* in our Company ſaid there was a *Woman* in that Houſe well worth our taking notice of, for that ſhe was cur'd of a *Blindneſs*, by wiping her *Eyes* with a *Handkerchief* dipp'd in the *Blood of the Old King*. Being call'd, ſhe own'd the thing, which two or three more in the Family teſtify'd. We put many *Queſtions* to her, whereof I only remember that ſhe reply'd, It was not a Blindneſs from her *birth*, but bred in her *Eyes*: Which, from the forementiond Account of Dr. *Turbervill*, gives me reaſon to conclude it the *Evil*. And this I have purpoſely mention'd, in Defence

of

of what Dr. *Perencheff* ſaith of the *Veneration* People had for the *Chips* of the *Block*, his *Hair*, &c. and to let *Amyntor* know *the Popiſh Legends may be laugh'd at, and yet we ought to be ſerious in ſuch Paſſages as theſe.*

Come we in the next place from Matter of Fact, to the Reaſon of the Thing, where, I know, it will much diſguſt this Patron of *Novelties*, to tell him, that *Kings*, in former days, were look'd upon as *Sacred Perſons*, *Anointed* to their *Office*, according to that *Divine Inſtitution* of *Almighty God* in his own *Theocraty*, with a Reſpect and Veneration, as the *Miniſters* the *Vice-Roys* of *Heaven*: And whatever he talks of *Juggles*, that profound Deference the *Eaſtern Nations* paid their Princes, (from whence all *People* and all *Government* proceeded) ſeems to intimate, that *Nature* it ſelf is not without ſome Impreſſes of that kind. And the learned *Primate Uſher* gives ſeveral *Authorities* out of *Homer* and other *Ancients* to confirm the ſame. Now if with that Deſignation to ſo high an *Office*, *God*, among other Gifts, communicated one of *Healing*, and that ſo inſeparable to the *Character*, as not to be loſt by ſome Irregularities of *Life*, which *David* himſelf was not free from: ſo as neither *Edward the Confeſſor's Superſtition*, nor

Of the Power of Princes.

Charles the Second's no *Saintſhip*, could obſtruct that *Salvation* which in this ſence *God may be ſaid to give unto Kings*, is a Truth altogether agreeable with the Principles of *Revealed Religion*. But knowing how prone this *Amyntor* is to cavil at ſuch *ſound Doctrine*, I ſhall proceed more *Philoſophically*, and let him know, that the every way Profound, as well in *Humility* of *Mind*, as Depth of *Judgment*, and all Solid *Learning*, Doctor *Barrow*, in his Excellent *Diſcourſes* of the *Creed*, among other Arguments to prove the *Being of God*, brings that of *Supernatural Effects*. Pag. 129. ‘ For although the Great ‘ *Creator* is ſaid to have *reſted*. ceaſed from ‘ his Works of that kind at the *Six Days* ‘ end ; yet did he not ſo tie up his own ‘ hands, as never more to intermeddle, ‘ but reſerv'd to himſelf a liberty to alter ‘ when he thinks fit the Courſe of *Nature*, ‘ croſs and check the Stream of Things, ‘ for the clearer *Illuſtration of his Glory* ; ‘ the confirming that he made *Nature*, ‘ becauſe he can command it, and controll ‘ at pleaſure ; whereof he gives ſeveral ‘ remarkable Inſtances, as well from *Pro-* ‘ *phane* as *Sacred Story*, of *Fire* being ‘ with-held from *burning*, *Waters* from ‘ *flowing*, the *Sick* being cur'd without ‘ Medicinal Applications, of long *Chro-* ‘ *nical Diſtempers* ; of *Murthers* ſtrangely ‘ *detected*,

'*detected*, *Plots* miraculouſly *diſcover'd*, 'with many ſuch like Extraordinary *Pro*-'*vidences*, no leſs ſignal in their *Cauſe* 'than *Event*. And when *de facto* any ſuch things appear to have been done, as in the Caſe before us, how can we otherwiſe conclude, than that the *King* is a *Sacred Perſon*, whom the *Sovereign* Lord of all things hath placed here as his *Repreſentative*, a *God* upon *Earth*, and that we ought to pay him a *Veneration* agreeable to ſo *Divine* a *Character*. This, in better times than we live in, hath paſt not only for *good Divinity*, but *good Policy* too; and whatever Notions of *Liberty* have of late been ſtarted, I fear, without ſuch a *Regular Subordination*, and *Conſcientious Regard*, it will be a difficult matter long to continue the *Peace* and *Welfare* of any *Humane Society*.

The forementionʼd *Doctor* leaves his *Diſcourſe* on this Head, with one Remark very much *à propo* to this our new *Sir Poſitive*. 'They are much miſtaken (ſaith 'he) who place a kind of Wiſdom in be-'ing very incredulous, unwilling to aſſent 'to any Teſtimony, how clear and full 'ſoever; for this is not Wiſdom, but the 'worſt kind of Folly, accompanyʼd with 'Diſingenuity, Obſtinacy, Rudeneſs, and 'the like bad Diſpoſitions. So that com-'pare the two ſorts of Fools, the *credulous*

'Fool, who yields his Aſſent readily,
'upon any ſlight ground, and the *ſuſpi-*
'*cious* Fool, who never will be ſtirr'd by
'any the ſtrongeſt *Reaſon*, or cleareſt
'*Teſtimony*, and we ſhall find the latter
'in moſt reſpects the worſt of the two;
'his Folly ariſes from worſe *Cauſes*, hath
'worſe *Adjuncts*, and produces worſe *Ef-*
'*fects*: **Credulity** may ſpring from an airy
'Complexion, and modeſt Opinion of
'one's ſelf; *Suſpiciouſneſs* hath its birth
'from an earthy Temper of *Body*, or Self-
'conceitedneſs of *Mind*; that is apt to
'correct an Errour, this intractable, ſtiff
'and incorrigible in his Ignorance or
'Miſtakes; both include want of *Judg-*
'*ment*, but this pretending to more, be-
'comes thereby more dangerous. In fine,
'were Men, in their other Affairs, or in
'ordinary Converſe, ſo diffident to plain
'Teſtimony, as ſome ſeem to be in Mat-
'ters of *Religion*, and *Almighty God*, they
'would find great Inconveniencies to pro-
'ceed from thence; their *Buſineſs* would
'ſtick, their *Converſation* would be
'diſtaſtful, they would be much more
'*offenſive*, and no leſs *ridiculous* than the
'moſt credulous Fool in the World.

What now alone remains to be conſi-der'd, is the *Thirtieth of January Faſt*, a very great *Eye-ſore* to all *Calves-Heads* and

and *Commonwealths-men*, for which reaſon they have oblig'd this their *Milton junior* to attaque it; neither indeed could they have fix'd upon a fitter Perſon on this ſide *Hell*, he who makes it his conſtant buſineſs to *Libel* the *Religion* of ſo great a part, and the *Government* of very nigh the whole World, *Chriſtianity* and *Monarchy*, muſt needs be thought the propereſt Inſtrument to decry the *Commemoration* of a *Prince* ſo eminently ſuffering on both thoſe accounts; and this hath been already obſerv'd their new Mode of going thorough-ſtitch, doing all at once; *Renounce* their *Allegiance* to *God*, and then there can be none due to his *Anointed*: *Abdicate the 13th to the Romans*, and the *30th of January* will fall in courſe. Thus that *Figure-flinger* to every Faction, *Partridge*, in his *Almanack* for the Year 89, left out both that, and the 29th of *May*, but ſo he did likewiſe *Good-Friday* and *Holy-Thurſday*. Now if ſuch Fellows as theſe ſhould be hearkned to in their *Freaks*, what a thorough *Reformation* ſhould we have, how briskly would they carry us back to all the *Confuſions* of 48, and 59. For this is *Amyntor*'s, and all his *Confederates* Deſign; we muſt not *recount* their former *Villanies*, that they may the more ſecurely *re-act* them; forget paſt *Troubles*, without any aſſurance of future

Peace; and therefore I ſhall make but one general *Reply* to all his *Cavils*, both againſt the *Preachers* and the *Day*, and that ſhall be in the words of the *Act* which enjoin'd it ſo ſolemnly to be obſerv'd, wherein 'tis declar'd to be *an Hor-*
12 Car. II. *rid, Impious, Execrable Murther, and unparallell'd Treaſon, committed by a Party of wretched Men, deſperately wicked, and hardned in Impiety, who were neither true Proteſtants, nor true Subjects, but Miſcreants, whoſe Fanatick Rage gave the Proteſtant Religion the greateſt Wound and Reproach, and the People of* England *the moſt inſupportable Shame and Infamy it was poſſible for the Enemies of God and the King to bring upon them.*

Theſe were our *Nations* Thoughts, when newly recover'd out of Twenty Years *Rebellion* and *Anarchy*; and 'tis a ſad ſign of our *relapſing* into that old *Diſtemper*, when a new Generation of ſuch *wretched Miſcreants* attempt to juſtifie what was then done, with every thing elſe which directly tends to *Immorality* and *Irreligion*; for ſo moſt, if not all who of late have appear'd in this unworthy Cauſe, will be found under one or two of theſe three, tho' too common, not yet
D——y
T——d
S——ns commendable, Denominations, **Theiſts, Atheiſts,** and **Sodomites.** Can they imagine any Perſon of Sence and Sobriety

ſhould

ſhould have the leſs Regard for our *Royal Martyr*, becauſe ſuch impious Wretches dare to inveigh againſt him? and not rather conclude him the *Beſt of Kings and Men*, becauſe exclaim'd againſt only by ſuch, as in all other things approve themſelves the very Refuſe of Mankind? No, doubtleſs, when theſe *Shimei's* and *Rabſhekah's* have rail'd all they can, as long as there is any thing of *Vertue* and *Religion*, of *Honour* and *Conſcience* in the World, the *Memory* of this Excellent *Prince* will be *Sacred*, and the Shedding his *Innocent Blood* moſt devoutly Deprecated, with *Remember not Lord our offences, nor nor the offences of our Fore-fathers*, &c.

That this *Amyntor*, as he terms himſelf, or perhaps, I more properly, *Milton Junior*, ſhould ſo violently proſecute that Old Snarling *Cynick's Libels*, is not eaſily to be reſolv'd. *Perſonal Diſguſt* he can have none, nor *Relative*, unleſs by an odd bye-way which ſome time ſince came into my head, fancying that the *Iriſh Prieſt*, his reputed Father, might be one of thoſe Rigid *Eccleſiaſticks* which adher'd to, and put the *Nuncio* upon breaking all Ways and Means of *Accommodation*, and, among many other very bad Qualities, might *traduce* that of an inveterate *Enmity* to this his *Rightful* and too *Gracious Sovereign*. For we muſt know, as the *Engliſh*

Rebels upbraided the *King* with too great Indulgence to the *Iriſh*; ſo they, that is, the *Prieſts* and *Prieſt-ridden Party* look'd upon him as an obſtinate *Heretick*, who would never condeſcend to let them have their own Wills in all things, and thereupon made Overtures to moſt *Catholick Princes* in *Europe*, of holding the *Kingdom* from Theirs, and their *Father* the *Pope*'s *Donation*. Now this *Son* of that *Potato*, finding how ill the Project ſucceeded on the *Romiſh* ſide, herds himſelf among the *Fanaticks* and *Commonwealths-men*, and is become a zealous Proſecutor of *Milton*'s Malice againſt *Monarchy* in general, and that *Monarch* more-eſpecially to whom he was obliged to pay the profoundeſt *Veneration*; but withal, the Matter is managed at ſuch an *hot-headed* rate, with ſo little of *Milton*'s Cunning or Parts, as when they meet in the *Infernal Regions*, the gruff *Ghoſt* will give him a ſevere Reprimand, for managing the *Knave*'s Part ſo like a *Fool*. And this indeed is the ſole Conſolation any Man of *Obſervation* can have, as to the no-Accompliſhment of what their *buſie Heads* have always in *Projection*, they over-act their Parts, have more *Will* but worſe Management than their *Predeceſſors*, whereof take this Inſtance; There was one *A. M.* ſome Years ſince, not only a great *Imitator*, but *Sub-Secretary*

to

to *Milton*, when both their *Commonwealth-ſhips* moſt pitifully ſneak'd to *Cromwell*'s *Tyranny*, this Perſon came afterward to make a Figure ſo far as to be a *Repreſentative*, was of a Reſerv'd *Converſation*, and Thoughtful *Wit*, which he employ'd to do what miſchief he could both to *Crown* and *Church*, as occaſion ſerv'd, but did not venture at All, as this *Hot-ſpur* doth, without Regard to *God* or *Man*, the *Living* or *Dead*. Yet to ſhow how theſe two agreed in their *Characters*, I ſhall end all with this Paſſage ; When this Mr. *M——ll* was dead, an Admirer of his went to one of their own common Acquaintance, whom he knew to have an *ingenious Fancy* that way, and deſir'd him to make an *Epitaph* upon their departed Friend : which he ſet about, and finiſhing, gave it to the Perſon who made the Requeſt ; who, with a great deal of formality, ſaid it was very well, but, in his Judgment, fell ſhort of the *Party*'s *juſt Deſerts*. The *Compoſer* knowing how much he had done the contrary, was ſo far concern'd, as to go to work a contrary way, and made another in *Burleſque*, which ended thus, *Poëta mediocris*, *Politicus minimus*, *Chriſtianus nullus*. Whether this *Amyntor* hath ſo much as a Mediocrity as to the firſt, may be queſtion'd ; but for the other two, his little

of

of the *Politicks*, and *no Chriſtianity*, they are ſo altogether *agreeable*, as nothing can be more his due but a *Halter*, and thereto we remit him.

The CONCLUSION.

'TWAS an Obſervation long ſince of the Philoſophers, *Odiorum acriores Cauſæ quando iniquæ:* And the Reaſon given is very conſiſtent; *The leſs* (ſay they) *ſuch malevolent Tempers have from the Object, the more they muſt ſupply from themſelves, make up the defect of demerit in the Perſon, by the virulency of their own perverſe Diſpoſitions, and malicious Calumnies.* That this hath been all along the practice of Man's *corrupt Nature*, is apparent from numberleſs Inſtances in *Prophane Hiſtory*, though I ſhall mention but one or two from *Sacred*. The *Royal Prophet* never more paſſionately complains than upon this account of all his *Enemies*, none were ſo outragious as they
Pſ. 35. 19. which *hated him without a cauſe*. His
— 69. 4. *familiar Friends, in whom he truſted, and upon whom he had laid the greateſt obligations, magnified themſelves moſt againſt him.* And though this was literally true in the *Pſalmiſt*'s own Perſon, yet in the *Myſtery* he foretold it of our *Bleſſed Saviour*, and

accor-

accordingly he apply'd it to himſelf, in the groſs *Infidelity* of the *Jews*, with their inceſſant *Projects* to take away his *Life*, notwithſtanding *he had done among them the works which none other man did*; but this, he tells us *cometh to paſs, that the word might be fulfilled which is written in their Law, They hated me without a cauſe.* How applicable this is to our *Royal Martyr*'s treatment, every eye may diſcover, and I ſhall not here add any thing to what hath been already ſaid, either as to thoſe *barbarous, inhumane Uſages* wherewith our *Chriſtian Phariſees* to *Jewiſhly* paralleli'd their *Predeceſſors* there, nor enlarge upon thoſe Juſt Commendations the *Wiſe* and *Good* ever have, and ever muſt acknowledge due to his moſt *Sacred Memory*. And therefore I deſire all who wiſh well to our *Old Eſtabliſhments*, upon which alone the *Nation*'s Peace and Welfare depends, to take notice, That the Deſign of this THIRD PART, is not ſo much to *vindicate* the *King*, as to *caution* the *People* againſt a new *Set* of *King-killers*: For 'tis my real *Belief*, not that I would have them take it in *Charity* neither, that thoſe former thought, nay, knew their many *odious Reflections* upon that *Monarch* to be falſe, but could not without ſuch vile *infernal Arts* carry on the grand Intrigue they were ſo hot upon, of Subverting

Jo. 15. 24, 25.

verting the *Monarchy*. Thus that *Rump Buffoon, Harry Marten*, declar'd publickly in the Houſe, *If we muſt have a King, he already ſo, was as proper as any Gentleman in* England ; *and thereupon did freely own, what he ſtood againſt was the Thing, not the Perſon:* And many others, upon the like Occaſion, were forced to blunder out the like Acknowledgments. But when *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had made things ripe for his *Murther*, then the Cue was given to *blacken him all that they could*, which nevertheleſs ſtruck at him moſt in his *Politick* Capacity. Now to bring this down to our preſent *Projectors*, ſo forward to revive that *Good Old Cauſe*, they tread directly in the ſame ſteps, and in order thereto, with redoubled Impudence, revive the *Old Defamations*.

What indeed they further entertain us with, muſt be own'd altogether New, but withal too impoſing upon this Age of ours, tho' too eaſily impos'd upon ; the *Characters*, I mean, given thoſe of the *Rump Oligarchy*, and *Officers of the Army*, who ſuffer'd for no greater *Offence* than *Ruine of King and Kingdom*, are ſo extravagantly fulſom and falſe, as every one of the leaſt Thought may juſtly ſuſpect whatever they relate of other Matters, to be as far from Truth. Can any one imagine ſo foul an *Original* as they propound, ſhould be worth copying ; for that, when firſt

Drawn,

Drawn, it appear'd moſt *monſtrous*, a kind of *Gorgon*, could not be look'd upon without *Horrour* and *Deteſtation?* How, I ſay, could this latter *Brood*, theſe *Sons of Innovation*, think to make us enamour'd with a *Commonwealth*, when the only Perſons they commend for the wiſe Adminiſtration thereof, never had any thing of *ſober Sence*, or *ſolid Principles*; as that *Maggotty Hot-ſpur*, Sir *H. Vane*, equally made up of *Freak* and *Fury*; that *Sink* of all *Immorality* and *Prophaneneſs*, *Harry Marten*; *Corbet* the *Jew*, *Ludlow* the *Cynick*, with twenty or thirty more, the moſt unclean, and withal unweildy *Beaſts* that were ever pack'd together in one *Stall*; no more fit to be the *Guardians* of a *Nation*, than ſo many *Wolves* to a *Flock of Sheep*: neither is it poſſible for any one to cry up and applaud them, as we find many now-a-days do, did they not lie under the like *Lycanthropy*.

The *Reflections* likewiſe upon their *Tryals* are truly *Commonwealthiſh*, that is, moſt *falſe* and *diſingenuous*, as, 'tis hop'd, hath been all along ſhown, to the Satisfaction of every honeſt Man; from ſuch as are otherwiſe 'tis not to be expected; yet I could have told them, there were ſeveral *Gentlemen*, and ſome perhaps of both *Houſes*, earneſtly preſs'd for a *Bill of Attainder*, as of quicker diſpatch, without

going

going through the tedious *Forms of Law*, in ſo clear a *Matter of Fact*. And certainly, if ſuch a *Bill* had been ever proper, 'twas here: but the generality of the *Nation* were then grown ſo *experimentally Wiſe*, and thereupon *Conſiderate*, as to abhorr what they had ſeen ſo fatal in the Caſe of *Laud*, and *Strafford*, with numberleſs other *Arbitrary Exorbitances*, which many of themſelves had moſt ſadly felt from every prevailing *Junto*. Upon which account, great care was taken that the whole *Current of Affairs* ſhould be brought into the old *Channel*; no Man queſtion'd either for *Eſtate* or *Life*, but according to the *immemorial Uſages* of our *Anceſtors*; and this was done with all Exactneſs imaginable, againſt ſo horrid, and withal ſo ſo *unprecedented* a Fact, as the like was never ſeen nor heard of among the *Children of Men*. And that now, after nigh *Forty Years*, this *Regular Procedure* ſhould be arraign'd, baſely repreſented, and the *worthy Judges* of the *Court* impudently *ſlander'd*, in the *Remains*, forſooth, of a *Party* ſo deſperately engag'd, as, had he not fled from *Juſtice*, would have been one of the firſt brought under its moſt deſerved Severity, is not a little ſurpriſing; and yet to make it more, all this is made *Publick* by a *Cabal of Men*, with ſuch high *Elogium's* upon their *Perſons*, and tacit

Juſtifi-

Juſtifications of their *Treaſons*, as if none but *Rebels* and *Regicides* were worthy to Govern the *Nation* : And this may add a further Surprize yet, that ſuch abominable Inſolencies ſhould be ſo tamely ſuffer'd, as if we had a mind once more to come under their *cruel Clutches* ; which, could the Innocent eſcape, ſhould never be my concern, to ſee befall ſuch as might prevent it if they pleas'd.

The only thing therefore I ſhall further recommend, is a *cautious Diſtruſt* of whatever theſe *Part-taking Hiſtorians* impoſe upon the World ; that we would *Try their Spirits* in a *Civil* as well as *Religious* ſence, by which means it will ſoon appear how much they have, in each reſpect, of the *Old Phariſee*, the *painted Sepulchre*, with a great deal of *flouriſh* and *poſitive Oſtentation* to ſet themſelves of ; whereas, upon a thorough Search, there is nothing to be found underneath but the *rotten Bones* of *Malice* and *Self-Intereſt*, of *Fraud*, and *Factious Deſigns*, a reviving *ſtale Lyes* to foment *freſh Miſchiefs*. And were this Courſe truly taken, would our *Politico's*, now-a-days ſo numerous, go to the *bottom* of Things, not content themſelves with a *ſuperficial View*, it would much abate their *Critical Severities* upon the *Royal Cauſe*, the Management of *Affairs* during thoſe miſerable Diſtractions of *Rebellion* and

Anarchy.

Anarchy. When the *Battle* is fought, and *Day* loſt, every Pretender to the *Blade* will be forward to tell, at leaſt gueſs where the *Courage* or *Conduct* fail'd; who, had they been in *Command*, might have ſhown greater Defects upon each account. With as little regard to *Candour* and *Judgment* are the foremention'd *Tranſactions* moſt raſhly run down; ſince they cannot be preſum'd to conſider either, on the one hand, how difficult the *Steerage* was in thoſe *rough Seas*; nor, on the other, how much they expoſe themſelves to the next *Generation* for greater *Defects* in much calmer *Weather*, when all thoſe violent *Storms* of *Popular Rage* and *Zealous Frenzy* are much abated, and with due Application might have been quite *down*; neither can it be otherwiſe expected, but that *After-days* ſhould be as forward as ours, and perhaps with more Reaſon reflect what *no Advances* we have made upon many *great Advantages*: On the contrary, *Religion* hath been ſo long ſuffer'd to run *a-float*, as 'tis now ſcarce poſſible to retrieve her from being *loſt*; and in what Poſture our *Civil-Adminiſtrations* ſtand, we may not, but they will preſume to *judge*.

FINIS.